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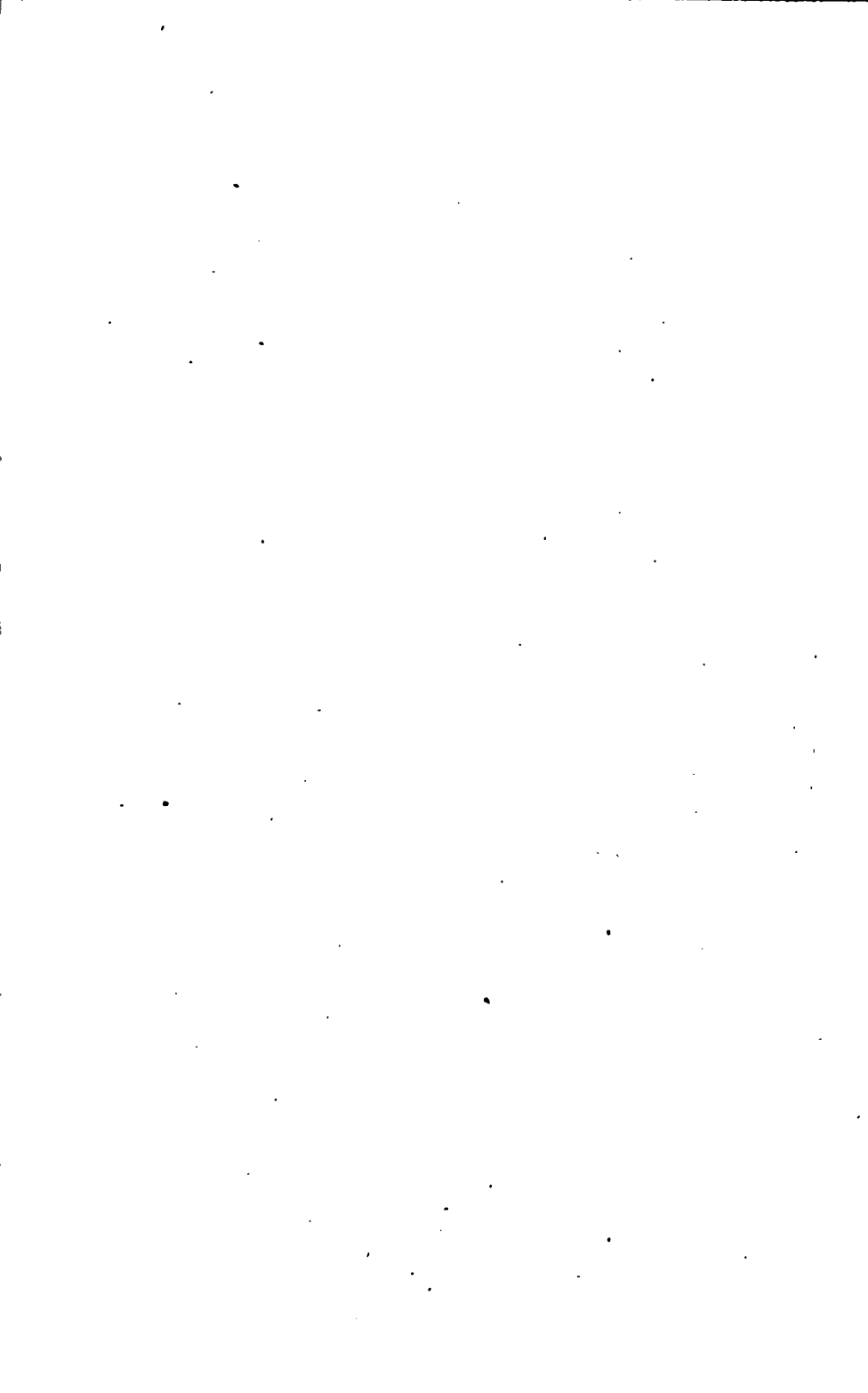
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THE
LIFE
AND
PONTIFICATE
OF
LEO THE TENTH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. M'CREEERY,
FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND.

1806.

———Tueri enim eorum memoriam, quorum merita multa in
homines et præclara extiterunt, æquitatis et justitiæ laudem
habet.

Jo. Mich. Brutus, ad Tingium.



PREFACE.

FOR almost three centuries the curiosity of mankind has been directed towards the age of **LEO THE TENTH**. The history of that period has not, however, yet been attempted in a manner in any degree equal to the grandeur and variety of the subject. Nor is this difficult to be accounted for. Attractive as such an undertaking may at first appear, it will be found on a nearer inspection to be surrounded by many difficulties. The magnitude of such a task; the trouble of col-

lecting the materials necessary to its proper execution ; the long devotion of time and of labour which it must unavoidably require, and above all, the apprehensions of not fulfilling the high expectations which have been formed of it, are some of those circumstances which have perhaps prevented the accomplishment of a work which has often been suggested, sometimes closely contemplated, but hitherto cautiously declined.

The same considerations which have deterred others from engaging in so laborious and hazardous an attempt, would in all probability have produced a similar effect on myself, had I not been led by imperceptible degrees to a situation in which I could scarcely, with either propriety or credit, have declined the task. The history of the life of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of Leo X. had opened the way to a variety of researches, not less connected with the events of the ensuing period, than with those of the times for which they were immediately

diately intended; and even that work was considered by many, perhaps not unjustly, as only the vestibule to a more spacious building, which it would be incumbent on the author at some future period to complete. Since that publication the friendship and liberality of several distinguished characters, both at home and abroad, have supplied me with many valuable communications and original documents, which without their countenance and favour, it would not have been in my power to have obtained. To have withheld these materials from the public, would have defeated the purpose for which they were communicated; and to have shrunk from the task under such circumstances, would have given occasion for a construction almost as unfavourable to myself as the failure of success. These reflections have induced me, amidst the constant engagements of an active life, to persevere in an undertaking, which has occasionally called for exertions beyond what my time, my talents, or my health could always supply;

and I now submit to the public the result of the labour of many years, in the best form in which, under all circumstances, it has been in my power to offer it to their acceptance.

Although I have entitled the following work **THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X.** yet I have not only thought it excusable, but even found it necessary, to enter into the general history of the times; without which it would have been impossible to give so full an idea of the character and conduct of this celebrated pontiff, as it was my wish to communicate. Nor can I regret the opportunity which has thus been afforded me, of examining more fully than has perhaps hitherto been done, a period productive of great and important events, and which exhibits almost every diversity of human character. Respecting the propriety of this union of individual biography with general history, I am well aware, that doubts have been entertained by persons of considerable eminence in literature.

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That there are certain limits between the province of the historian, and that of the biographer, may readily be admitted ; yet, as these branches of study are equally conversant with the individuals of our own species, it will unavoidably happen, that each of them will at times encroach upon the precincts of the other. In perusing the pages of Livy or of Tacitus, of Hume or of Gibbon, we find no parts which interest us more than the private and personal memorials of those great and illustrious men who have acted a conspicuous part in the public events of the age ; whilst, on the other hand, it would be impossible to form a correct idea of the character of an individual, without considering him in those relations, by which he stands connected with the general transactions of the times in which he lived, and which in truth have not only displayed, but in some measure formed his character. That these mutual concessions may admit of abuse, cannot be doubted ; yet, if the great objects of pleasure and utility be obtained, that criticism

ticism would perhaps be too rigid, which would narrowly restrict so advantageous an interchange. In tracing the history of a people through any considerable portion of time, the attention is weakened, and the feelings are blunted, by the rapid succession of events and characters, in which we might have been more deeply interested, if our information respecting them had been more minute. The history of mankind may be compared to the surface of the earth, which is composed of wild woods and trackless deserts, interspersed, however, with cultivated spots, and peculiar appearances of nature. The traveller passes heedlessly over the undiversified prospect, and dwells only on such parts as for their beauty, sublimity, or singularity, he deems most worthy of his regard.

These observations, it is hoped, may serve as an apology for my having entered so much at large into the history of many transactions, which, although they were not influenced in any eminent degree

gree by the personal interference of Leo X. greatly affected the fortunes of his early years. Of this nature is the narrative of the irruption of Charles VIII. into Italy; an enterprise which, as Mr. Gibbon asserts, changed the face of Europe, and of which he at one time meditated a distinct and separate history. The siege of Pisa, as long and as eventful as the celebrated siege of Troy, is so closely connected with all the political events and negotiations of the time, and in particular, with the fate of the three brothers of the Medici, as unavoidably to obtrude itself upon our frequent notice. In adverting to the pontificate of Alexander VI. it is impossible to avoid being forcibly struck with the energy, or rather the atrocity of character by which that pontiff and his son Cæsar Borgia were distinguished; and the singular transactions recorded of them, must occasionally give rise to doubts, which the labours of the most industrious and impartial inquirer will scarcely be adequate to remove. With the fortunes of the Medici, the effects

fects of the memorable league of Cambray, which alone has been the subject of several volumes, are still more closely connected; whilst the conquest of Naples, and the expulsion of the royal family of Aragon by the united arms of Louis XII. and of Ferdinand of Spain, and the subsequent disagreement and contests of those monarchs, for the dominion of that kingdom, claim our attention, no less on account of their connexion with our principal subject, than by their intrinsic importance.

An opinion has of late been very generally advanced both in this country and abroad, that notwithstanding the improvement which took place in Italy, in the age of Leo X. a very moderate portion of it is to be attributed to the personal exertions, talents, and patronage of that pontiff; and that by giving to this period the ostentatious title of *THE AGE OF LEO X.* we deprive the other eminent patrons of literature who flourished during the same æra, of that praise
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to which they are justly entitled. I ought not very earnestly to oppose an opinion, which, if espoused by my readers, would relieve me from a great part of my responsibility. Yet, that Leo, during his short pontificate of less than nine years, exerted himself with considerable effect in the promotion of literature and the restoration of the fine arts, cannot be doubted; and as his services have never yet been sufficiently appreciated, or collected into one point of view, an attempt to supply what has hitherto been wanting in this respect, may be entitled at least to pardon. The effects produced by Leo on the character of the times, will, however, be better estimated, when the transactions of his life shall have been more fully unfolded. I shall afterwards return to this important and essential part of my subject, and endeavour to ascertain the amount of the obligations due from posterity to Leo the Tenth.

1. The earliest professed history of Leo X. is that of Paolo Giovio, better known by

by his Latin appellation of *Paullus Jovius*. This author, the character of whose various productions is sufficiently known, had every opportunity of obtaining the most exact and authentic information on the subject of his history. His life of Leo X. written like the rest of his works, in Latin, is one of the most valuable of his productions, containing much authentic information, and being perhaps less tinctured than the generality of his labours, with that satirical spirit, which its author on many occasions evinced.

With this history of Leo X. by Jovius, and the Italian translation by Dominichi, printed at Florence in 1549, the learned world seems to have remained satisfied for upwards of two centuries. Many incidental anecdotes and brief memoirs of this distinguished pontiff, were in the mean time given to the public; but the first serious intention of connecting the life of Leo X. with the history of the revival of learning, appears to have arisen in our own country, where
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the elegant and pathetic poet William Collins, about the middle of the last century, is said to have published proposals for such a history. " I have heard him " speak with great kindness," says Dr. Johnson, " of Leo X. and with keen sentiment of his tasteless successor ; but " probably not a page of the history was " ever written." Much as we may regret the failure of this enterprise, those whom nature has endowed with the capacity of feeling the charm of the tender and impassioned productions of this author, will regret still more those calamities that prevented him from increasing the number of his poetical works, which have justly been characterized, as exhibiting " a luxuriance of imagination, a " wild sublimity of fancy, and a felicity " of expression so extraordinary, that " they might be supposed to be suggested by some superior power, rather than " to be the effect of human judgment or " capacity."

Among the Friends of Collins, who
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seem to have shared his confidence and his studies, was Mr. Thomas Warton, by whom the design of giving a history of the restoration of Letters in Europe, was continued, or revived. In the excellent Essay of his brother Dr. Warton, on the life and writings of Pope, is the following passage. "Concerning the particular
"encouragement given by Leo X. to literature and the fine arts, I forbear to
"enlarge; because a friend of mine is at
"present engaged in writing the HISTORY OF THE AGE OF LEO THE TENTH.
"It is a noble period, and full of those
"most important events, which have
"had the greatest influence on human
"affairs. Such as the discovery of the
"West Indies by the Spaniards, and of
"a passage to the East by the Portuguese; the invention of printing; the
"reformation of religion; with many
"others; all of which will be insisted
"upon at large, and their consequences
"displayed." As the Essay which contains this passage, was first published in 1756, the same year in which Collins died,

died, it is possible that this notice was intended to refer to his undertaking; but it is also certain, that on his death, the design was not abandoned by his surviving friends. In a conversation which I had the pleasure of enjoying with Dr. Warton, in the year 1797, the progress made in an undertaking which had been so long announced to the public, became an object of my inquiry. By him I was informed that it had been the intention of himself, his brother, and several of their literary friends, to give a history of the revival of letters, not only in Italy, but in all the principal countries of Europe; and that the history of English Poetry by Mr. Thomas Warton, was only a part of this great design. When we advert to the various and excellent critical productions of these liberal and learned brothers, and consider that among the names of their coadjutors, would probably have been found those of West, of Walpole, of Mason, and of Gray, we cannot sufficiently lament the want of public encouragement, which was, in all probability,

probability, the chief cause that prevented this noble and extensive undertaking from being carried into complete execution.

In Italy the life and transactions of Leo X. have, within these few years, been the subject of a work of no inconsiderable merit. To the writings of the late much lamented and learned Monsignore Angelo Fabroni, *Provveditore*, or Principal, of the university of Pisa, I have before been indebted for many important facts in the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici; some of which I have examined with that freedom, which, to some authors, would have been a cause of offence, but which a liberal mind will always prefer to the vain homage of indiscriminate applause. The attempt which I then made to illustrate a period of history, which had been the peculiar object of his inquiry, had the good fortune to obtain his approbation. Under his auspices, the English Life of Lorenzo de' Medici was elegantly translated into Italian, by the
Cavaliero

Cavaliero Mecherini, and published at Pisa, in the year 1799. I was afterwards honoured by the correspondence of Monsignore Fabroni, which was continued until the time of his death in the latter part of the year 1803; and in the course of which he transmitted to me his "Life of Leo X." written in Latin, and published at Pisa in the year 1797. In this work the learned author has not confined himself to the account given of Leo X. by Jovius, but has collected much original information respecting this pontiff, and the age in which he lived. By the aid of these resources he was enabled to throw additional light on his subject; whilst the valuable collection of documents published by him at the close of his work, not only confirm his narrative, but supply important materials for future historians. As the work was not, however, intended by the author, so it must not be expected by the public, to contain a very full and extensive account of the progress made during the pontificate

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cate of Leo X. in the departments of science, of literature, or of art; or of those very numerous and distinguished men, to whose writings and labours the reign of that pontiff is indebted for its principal lustre.

But besides these professed histories of Leo X. several works have appeared, which are chiefly confined to the elucidation of some particular parts of his life, or of those of the times in which he lived. Among these are the history of the League of Cambray, by some attributed to the pen of cardinal Polignac; the narrative of the battle of the Taro, between Charles VIII. and the allied army of Italy, by Benedetti; the lives of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, by Gordon; the dialogue of Raffaello Brandolini, entitled *Leo*; and the commentary of Galeazzo Capella, on the efforts made for the restoration of Francesco Sforza to the duchy of Milan; with many other publications of a similar nature, of which it
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will appear that I have frequently availed myself, in the course of the following work.

The detached and particular histories to which I have before adverted, contain, however, but a small portion of that immense mass of information which remains to the present times, respecting the public and private character and conduct of Leo X. From the high dignity which he enjoyed, both as a secular and an ecclesiastical potentate, and from the active part which he took in all the transactions which affected the state of Europe, his life is intimately connected with the general history of the age; insomuch that there is not an author who has had occasion to treat on the events of this period, in whose work he does not occupy a conspicuous station.

To these, the recorders of the political, civil, and military events of the times, I might add a long train of literary historians, to whom I have been greatly in-

debted for that department of the following work, which is intended to illustrate the state of letters and of science; among these, must be distinguished the immortal work of Tiraboschi; the noblest specimen of that species of composition which any age or country has produced; and the accurate and comprehensive account of the writers of Italy, by Mazzuchelli, who in grasping at an object too extended for human talents, or human life, has executed in six volumes in folio, a comparatively small portion of his colossal attempt.

I shall not, on this occasion, weary the reader by enumerating the many other various and excellent authors, either in this department, or in that of the fine arts, in which the Italians abound beyond any other country, who have afforded their assistance in the following pages; but I must avail myself of this opportunity finally to observe, that I have made it an invariable rule, in the accounts which I have found it necessary to give of

of the writings and characters of men of literary eminence, to resort for information to their own works, as far as my opportunities would permit, and to found my opinions and draw my deductions from them, rather than from those of any subsequent writer. How far I have been enabled thus to derive my intelligence from its primitive channels, will sufficiently appear in the course of my work ; in which it has been my practice to refer to the author from whom I have actually quoted ; and who must be considered as answerable for the accuracy of the citation when the original has not fallen in my way.

Such are the works relating to the life of Leo X. and the times in which he lived, which have already been published, and of which I have availed myself in the course of the ensuing narrative ; but, besides these more ostensible sources of information, I have, during a series of years, been enabled to collect many original documents, which have served to throw

considerable light on the times to which the following pages relate. Of these, one of the most important acquisitions consists of a series of letters and papers, copied from the originals in the archives of the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence, and forming two volumes in folio, of about three hundred pages each. For this valuable collection I am indebted to the obliging and disinterested interference of a nobleman, who adds dignity to his station, not only by the firm and consistent tenor of his public conduct, but by his encouragement of those literary studies, in which he has himself made so distinguished a proficiency. The liberal views of Lord Holland were seconded by the kind assistance of Mr. Penrose, the late British resident at Florence; and were carried into complete effect by the generosity of the Grand Duke; who directed that access should be had at all times to the original state papers, and every possible facility given to these researches. The first part of this collection consists chiefly of letters written by the great Lorenzo de' Medici, father
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ther of the pontiff, relating principally to the promotion of his son to the rank of cardinal. From these letters, which have enabled me to place this event in its fullest light, I might have given much larger extracts, but as they elucidate only this single circumstance, it will perhaps be thought that I have been sufficiently copious in my authorities on this head. This collection also comprises a series of letters written by Balthazar Turini, commonly called Balthazar or Baldassare da Pescia, then at Rome, to Lorenzo de' Medici the nephew of the pontiff, who resided at Florence during the early part of the pontificate of Leo X. From these, none of which have heretofore been printed, it appears that the writer was appointed assistant Datary, or Secretary, to transmit to Florence the fullest information on every event that took place at Rome, not only with respect to public transactions, but to the private concerns of every branch of the family of the Medici. In the execution of this office he seems to have acted under the immediate directions

tions of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici; afterwards Clement VII. who was intrusted by Leo X. with the superintendence of the government of the Florentine state, and to whose suggestions Lorenzo was expected implicitly to conform. These letters, although they extend only from the month of March to the month of September, in the second year of the pontificate of Leo X. (1514) throw considerable light on the characters of the persons there mentioned, and suggest or illustrate many curious and important circumstances; but besides these, the most material subjects, this collection of papers is interspersed with other documents of considerable interest, not heretofore published, and which will be more particularly noticed in the course of the following work.

In adverting to the assistance which I have derived from the city of Florence, that cradle of the arts in modern times, I must not omit to notice the favours conferred on me by the late venerable and learned Canonico Angelo Maria Bandini,

dini, late principal librarian of the Laurentian library there. Of a character so well known in the literary world, any commendation of mine would be superfluous; yet I cannot avoid remarking it as an extraordinary circumstance, that he maintained a high rank among the scholars of Italy during the long space of sixty years, and that the history of his life, with an account of his literary productions, was given in the great work of Mazzuchelli, the publication of which he survived nearly half a century. During this period he continued to enrich the republic of letters by many other works; some of which, as they bear a particular reference to the history of the Medici, will be referred to in the following pages. To this eminent man, who retained his early and ardent love of literature to the close of his days, I am also indebted for the communication of several scarce and valuable documents, both printed and manuscript, as well as for various letters, indicating to me, with the utmost attention and minuteness, those

those sources of information which his long and intimate acquaintance with the subjects of the following volumes had enabled him to point out.

In the prosecution of this work, I was, however, well aware that the most important information for my purpose might be derived from the immense collections of the Vatican, and could not but regret, that from the calamitous state of public affairs, the distance of my own situation from these records, and other circumstances, there was little probability that I should be able to surmount the formidable obstacles that presented themselves to its attainment. From this state of despondency I was however fortunately relieved, by the unsolicited kindness of John Johnson, Esquire, then on his travels through Italy, who, with a liberality which demands my warmest acknowledgments, obtained for me, by means of his acquaintance with the Abate Gaetano Marini, the learned Prefect of the Archives of the Vatican, a considerable

derable number of important documents, copied as well from the manuscripts in that collection, as from printed works of extreme rarity, which relate to the affairs of the Roman court in the time of Leo X. and which are, for the most part, to be found only in that collection. Among the former is the fragment of an unpublished life of Leo X. written in Latin, with considerable elegance, and brought down to the year 1516. The printed works consist principally of letters and orations of the ambassadors of foreign states to Leo X. and were probably only printed for the exclusive use of the Roman court. Besides these, I had also the pleasure of receiving an entire copy of the very scarce and curious tract of Jacopo Penni, containing the most particular account which now remains of the ceremonies and splendid exhibitions that took place in Rome on the elevation of Leo X. which, with many other pieces from the same authentic quarter, the reader will find in the Appendix to the ensuing volumes.

To the continued favour and friendly recommendations of the same gentleman during his progress through Italy, I am also indebted for my literary intercourse with the celebrated Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco at Venice, well known to the learned world, as the author of many estimable works. From him I have received much useful information respecting the publications necessary for my purpose, accompanied by some scarce tracts, and by his own judicious and interesting remarks. I am sensible that in thus paying the tribute of gratitude to the most illustrious scholars of Italy, I may be suspected of attempting to support my own weak endeavours upon the established reputation of their names; but I have not been deterred by this consideration from discharging what I esteem to be an indispensable obligation to the living, and a sacred duty to the dead; being well convinced that the favours conferred upon me, can no more excuse the imperfections of my work, than those imperfections can detract from the high character, which the persons

persons to whom I have referred have so justly and so universally obtained.

Respecting the private lives of Leo X. and his predecessors Alexander VI. and Julius II. considerable information is derived from the diaries of the successive officers of the Roman court, who were styled Masters of the Ceremonies of the pope's chapel, and who seem to have considered it as part of their duty to keep a register of such transactions as occurred under their own eye, or came to their knowledge. The first of these officers whose labours appear to have been preserved, is Giovanni Burcardo Brocardo, or as he is more usually called, Burchard, a native of Strasbourg, and dean of the church of St. Thomas in that city. He afterwards transferred his residence to Rome, where he obtained several ecclesiastical preferments, and was appointed master of the ceremonies on the twenty-first day of December, 1483, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. A few months afterwards he commenced
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his journal, which during the life of Sixtus IV. was confined to a few slight and unimportant minutes. On the death of that pontiff he extended his plan, and has occasionally enriched it with anecdotes, and adverted to circumstances not strictly confined to the limits of his office. His diary is written in Latin, in a pedestrian and semi-barbarian style, but with an apparent accuracy and minuteness as to facts, which, notwithstanding the singular circumstances related by him, give it an air of veracity. Such part as adverts to the life of Alexander VI. has been published almost entire. Large extracts from it have also been given by several authors who have been inclined to expatiate on the enormities of this pontiff, and particularly by Gordon, in his life of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, printed at London in 1729. After the death of Alexander, Burchard was appointed by Julius II. bishop of Horta, in the possession of which dignity he died on the 16th day of May, 1506.

About

About two years before the death of Burchard, he had a colleague or assistant in Paris de Grassis, who also succeeded him as master of the ceremonies. This officer has also kept a diary, which commences on the twelfth day of May, 1504, and is continued throughout the rest of the pontificate of Julius II. and the whole of that of Leo X. It has never been printed entire, but some detached parts have been published; and it has also been consulted by several writers, who have given extracts from it in their works.

From the narrative of Paris de Grassis, it appears, that he was a native of Bologna, of a respectable family. His brother Achilles was, in the year 1511, raised by Julius II. to the dignity of the purple, and was one of the most learned and respectable members of the college. Another brother, Agamemnon, (for the family names seem to have been sought for in Homer, rather than in the books of the Old and New Testament) was in
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the year 1510, ambassador from the city of Bologna to the Pope. The assiduities of Paris, as master of the ceremonies, could not conciliate the favour of that austere pontiff Julius II. but in the vacancy of the holy see, which occurred on the death of that pope, he obtained from the sacred college, as a reward for his services, the promise of the bishopric of Pesaro united with the abbey of Santa Croce. These dignities were afterwards confirmed to him by Leo X. who also nominated him a prelate of the palace, and appointed his nephew to be his coadjutor in the office of master of the ceremonies. He survived that pontiff, and died at Rome on the tenth day of June, 1528.

The style of Paris de Grassis, like that of his predecessor, has little pretensions to elegance. It is, however, rendered interesting by its simplicity, which gives to his narration a character of fidelity. In the exercise of his functions he seems to have been a more rigid disciplinarian

disciplinarian than even Burchard himself, and it is somewhat amusing to observe the importance which he frequently attaches to his office, and the severity with which he reproves those relaxations from the dignity of his high rank, in which Leo, on some occasions, indulged himself.

Among the objects of my earnest inquiry, was the unpublished part of the diary of Paris de Grassis, which yet exists in the library of the Vatican, and of which copies are also found in the National Library at Paris. Of this diary, as well as of that of Burchard, some of the most interesting particulars have already been given to the public, in the work entitled, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, which has been continued under the title of *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*; but as the extracts thus made are not in general given in the original Latin, but are for the most part abridged,

abridged, and translated into French, I have not derived from this work the advantages which I might otherwise have obtained. It happened, however, fortunately for my purpose, that in the summer of the year 1802, my particular friend and neighbour, the Reverend Mr. Shepherd, well known as the author of *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, paid a visit to Paris. On this occasion I scrupled not to request his assistance in examining for me the different manuscripts of the diary of Paris de Grassis, and making such extracts from them, in the original, as he conceived would be most interesting. As no one can be better qualified for such a task, so no one could have entered upon it with greater alacrity. During his stay at Paris, a considerable portion of his time was passed in these researches, in which he met with every possible facility from the librarians; and on his return, he brought with him several curious extracts, which have enabled me to throw additional
light

light on the history of Leo X. and particularly on the singular circumstances attending his death.

Nor have I, in the course of my inquiries, wholly omitted the opportunities which even this country affords, of collecting information from unpublished documents respecting the times in question. Among the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum, are contained many original letters from the Roman court and the English ambassadors resident there, to Henry VIII. and his ministers, explanatory of the political transactions of the age. I had not an opportunity of examining these papers, until my work was considerably advanced; but by the kind assistance of my highly respected friend John Walker, Esq. of Bedford-Square, and by the obliging attention of Mr. Planta, principal librarian of the British Museum, I have been enabled to inform myself of such documents as were more particularly applicable to my purpose, some of which the

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reader will find, either given entire in the appendix, or referred to in the course of the work.

Although I have for several years endeavoured, at great expense, and with considerable success, to collect such printed works as appeared to be necessary for the present undertaking, yet I have not neglected to solicit the assistance, or to avail myself of the offers of several persons, on whose friendship and liberality I could rely, to furnish me with such publications as I had not had the good fortune elsewhere to obtain. To the very obliging liberality of Richard Heber, Esq. of Hodnet, whose library is particularly enriched by the early editions of the works of the modern writers of Latin poetry, I am indebted for the use of many of the scarce publications in that department, referred to in the following volumes, which have enabled me to discuss the subjects to which they relate, with greater confidence than I could possibly have done through the secondary

condary medium of other writers. His extensive collection of medals has also been freely opened for the use of the engraver, in improving the ornamental part of the work. The very select library of my early literary associate, and long valued friend, William Clarke, Esq. of Everton, has also been of frequent use to me in the course of my researches, during which I have derived additional assistance from his extensive learning, and very particular acquaintance with the literary history of Italy. My acknowledgments are also due for the use of scarce books and manuscripts, or for other favours in the course of my work, to Dr. James Currie, late of Liverpool, but now of Bath, well known by his many valuable publications, both on scientific and literary subjects, and whom I am proud to record on this occasion, as my long esteemed and excellent friend; the Rev. Wm. Parr Greswell, author of *Memoirs of Italian Scholars who have written Latin poetry*; Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter principal King

of Arms; Mr. Wm. Smyth, Fellow of Peter House, Cambridge; Henry Brown, Esq. of Liverpool; the Rev. Mr. Hinkes, of Cork; the Rev. Mr. Crane, Vicar of Over, in Cheshire; the Rev. John Greswell, of the college, Manchester; and to several other persons, who will, I hope, excuse a more particular acknowledgment, in the confidence that I am not insensible of their favours.

With respect to the execution of the following work, I cannot but be well aware, that many circumstances and characters will be found represented in a light somewhat different from that in which they have generally been viewed, and that I may probably be accused of having suffered myself to be induced by the force of prejudice, or the affectation of novelty, to remove what have hitherto been considered as the land-marks of history. To imputations of this kind, I feel the most perfect indifference. Truth alone has been my guide, and whenever she has steadily diffused her light, I have endeavoured

endeavoured to delineate the objects in their real form and colour. History is the record of the experience of mankind, in their most important concerns. If it be impossible for human sagacity to estimate the consequences of a falsehood in private life, it is equally impossible to estimate the consequences of a false or partial representation of the events of former times. The conduct of the present is regulated by the experience of the past. The circumstances which have led the way to the prosperity or destruction of states, will lead the way to the prosperity or destruction of states in all future ages. If those in high authority be better informed than others, it is from this source that their information must be drawn; and to pollute it, is therefore to poison the only channel through which we can derive that knowledge, which, if it can be obtained pure and unadulterated, cannot fail in time to purify the intellect, expand the powers, and improve the condition of the human race,

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As in speaking of the natural world, there are some persons who are disposed to attribute its creation to chance, so in speaking of the moral world, there are some who are inclined to refer the events and fluctuations in human affairs to accident, and are satisfied with accounting for them from the common course of things, or the spirit of the times. But as *chance* and *accident*, if they have any meaning whatever, can only mean the operation of causes not hitherto fully investigated, or distinctly understood, so *the spirit of the times* is only another phrase for causes and circumstances which have not hitherto been sufficiently explained. It is the province of the historian to trace and to discover these causes, and it is only in proportion as he accomplishes this object, that his labours are of any utility. An assent to the former opinion may indeed gratify our indolence, but it is only from the latter method that we can expect to acquire true knowledge, or to be able to
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apply to future conduct the information derived from past events.

There is one peculiarity in the following work, which it is probable may be considered as a radical defect. I allude to the frequent introduction of quotations and passages from the poets of the times, occasionally interspersed through the narrative, or inserted in the notes. To some it may appear that the seriousness of history is thus impertinently broken in upon, whilst others may suppose, that not only its gravity, but its authenticity is impeached by these citations, and may be inclined to consider this work as one of those productions, in which truth and fiction are blended together, for the purpose of amusing and misleading the reader. To such imputations I plead not guilty. That I have at times introduced quotations from the works of the poets, in proof of historical facts, I confess; nor, when they proceed from contemporary authority, do I perceive that their being in verse invalidates their

their credit. In this light I have frequently cited the *Decennale* of Machiavelli, and the *Vergier d' honneur* of Andrè de la Vigne, which are in fact little more than versified annals of the events of the times; but in general, I have not adduced such extracts as evidences of facts, but for a purpose wholly different. To those who are pleased in tracing the emotions and passions of the human mind in all ages, nothing can be more gratifying than to be informed of the mode of thinking of the public at large, at interesting periods, and in important situations. Whilst war and desolation stalk over a country, or whilst a nation is struggling for its liberties or its existence, the opinions of men of genius, ability, and learning, who have been agitated with all the hopes and fears to which such events have given rise, and have frequently acted a personal and important part in them, are the best and most instructive comment. By such means, we seem to become contemporaries with those whose history we peruse, and to acquire

quire an intimate knowledge, not only of the facts themselves, but of the judgment formed upon such facts by those who were most deeply interested in them. Nor is it a slight advantage in a work which professes to treat on the literature of the times, that the public events, and the works of the eminent scholars and writers of that period, thus become a mutual comment, and serve on many occasions to explain and to illustrate each other.

The practice which I have heretofore adopted of designating the scholars of Italy by their national appellations, has given rise to some animadversions. In answer to which I beg to remark, that whoever is conversant with history, must frequently have observed the difficulties which arise from the wanton alterations, in the names of both persons and places, by authors of different countries, and particularly by the French, who, without hesitation, accommodate every thing to the genius of their own language. Hence
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the names of all the eminent men of Greece, of Rome, or of Italy, are melted down, and appear again in such a form as would not in all probability have been recognised by their proper owners; Dionysius is *Denys*, Titus Livius *Tite Live*, Horatius *Horace*, Petrarca *Petrarque*, and Pico of Mirandola, *Pic de Mirandole*. As the literature which this country derived from Italy was first obtained through the medium of the French, our early authors followed them in this respect, and thereby sanctioned those innovations which the nature of our own language did not require. It is still more to be regretted that we are not even uniform in our abuse. The name of *Horace* is familiar to the English reader, but if he were told of *the three Horaces*, he would probably be at a loss to discover the persons meant, the authors of our country having commonly given them the appellation of the *Horatii*. In the instance of such names as are familiar to our early literature, we adopt with the French the abbreviated

abbreviated appellation; but in latter times we usually employ proper national distinctions, and instead of *Arioste*, or *Metastase*, we write, without hesitation, *Ariosto*, or *Metastasio*. This inconsistency is more sensibly felt when the abbreviated appellation of one scholar is contrasted with the national distinction of another, as when a letter is addressed by *Petrarch* to *Coluccio Salutati*, or by *Politian* to *Ermolao Barbaro*, or *Baccio Ugolini*. For the sake of uniformity, it is surely desirable that every writer conform as much as possible to some general rule, which can only be found by a reference of every proper name to the standard of its proper country. This method would not only avoid the incongruities before mentioned, but would be productive of positive advantages, as it would in general point out the nation of the person spoken of, without the necessity of further indication. Thus, in mentioning one of the monarchs of France, who makes a conspicuous figure in the ensuing pages, I have not denominated him
Lodovico

Lodovico XII. with the Italians, nor *Lewis XII.* with the English, but *Louis XII.* the name which he himself recognised. And thus I have also restored to a celebrated Scottish general, in the service of the same monarch, his proper title of *d'Aubigny*, instead of that of *Obigni*, usually given him by the historians of Italy.

I cannot deliver this work to the public without a most painful conviction, that notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, and the most sedulous attention which it has been in my power to bestow upon it, many defects will still be discoverable, not only from the omission of much important information, which may not have occurred to my inquiries, but from an erroneous or imperfect use of such as I may have had the good fortune to obtain. Yet I trust, that when the extent of the work, and the great variety of subjects which it comprehends are considered, the candid and judicious will make due allowance for those inaccuracies

cies against which no vigilance can at all times effectually guard. With this publication, I finally relinquish all intention of prosecuting, with a view to the public, my researches into the history and literature of Italy. That I have devoted to its completion a considerable portion of time and of labour will sufficiently appear from the perusal of the following pages, and it may therefore be presumed that I cannot be indifferent to its success. But whatever inducements I may have found in the hope of conciliating the indulgence, or the favour of the public, I must finally be permitted to avow, that motives of a different, and perhaps of a more laudable nature, have occasionally concurred to induce me to persevere in the present undertaking. Among these, is an earnest desire to exhibit to the present times an illustrious period of society; to recall the public attention to those standards of excellence to which Europe has been indebted for no inconsiderable portion of her subsequent improvement; to unfold the ever
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active effect of moral causes on the acquirements and the happiness of a people; and thereby raise a barrier, as far as such efforts can avail, against that torrent of a corrupt and vitiated taste, which if not continually opposed, may once more overwhelm the cultivated nations of Europe in barbarism and degradation. To these great and desirable aims, I could wish to add others, yet more exalted and commendable; to demonstrate the fatal consequences of an ill directed ambition, and to deduce, from the unperverted pages of history, those maxims of true humanity, sound wisdom, and political fidelity, which have been too much neglected in all ages, but which are the only solid foundations of the repose, the dignity, and the happiness of mankind.

ALLERTON,
8th March, 1805.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.



PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN submitting to the public a new edition of *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* I cannot conceive it to be requisite for me to enter into a general defence of a work which has been so far honoured with their approbation. At the same time, I am not ignorant of the various animadversions to which it has given rise. Of these, some are of such a nature, that whether they be considered with respect to their matter, or their manner, they can only be passed over by me in silence. I might perhaps have been disposed to congratulate myself, that in a work of such extent, and embracing such a variety of topics, I had not given more substantial cause for critical observation; and after having corrected a few trifling errors, I might have consoled myself in the thought that my labours were tolerably free from mistakes. But unfortunately, there is not, I conceive, any such cause of satisfaction. Those who have attempted to depreciate my work, have manifestly shewn, that they are too little acquainted with the nature of its subject, with the history of the times to which it relates, and with the

various branches of science and of art which it involves, to detect its errors or expose its defects. Under their treatment, it has undergone no ordeal. For the only observations of any real value, I am indebted to those more liberal and enlightened critics, who, in pointing out its errors, have acknowledged that my work is not wholly without pretensions to the public favour; or to those judicious and learned friends, who, in their private communications, have enhanced the value of their commendation by the truth and freedom of their remarks.

In one instance only has any attempt been made to impeach my accuracy as an historian by a specific charge; and in this alone I consider myself to be called upon for a reply. In assigning to the important letter from Luther to Leo X. the date of the *sixth of April*, 1520, I have been accused of having displayed a manifest prejudice against the character of Luther, and even of not having paid a due attention to the authors whom I have cited. From this circumstance some persons have also affected to draw conclusions unfavourable to the general authenticity of my history. How far these charitable inferences would justly follow from the discovery of a single mistake in a narrative of such extent, I am happily not under the necessity of inquiring, as I have it in my power to give the most satisfactory evidence of the correctness of my former statement. If in this vindication I should trespass on the indulgence of the reader, I must beg him to observe that the question is of considerable importance, as it respects the character and conduct of Luther, on one of the most trying occasions of his life.

This question commenced with Seckendorf, who, in his Commentary on the History of Maimbourg, has

has attempted to shew that the letter from Luther, which I have considered as bearing the date of the sixth of April, 1520, and as having been the cause of such great offence to the pontiff, was not written until October following, about four months after the issuing of the papal bull, which bears date the fifteenth of June, in the same year. This letter Seckendorf also considers as conciliatory, and as intended to soften the animosity of the pontiff, and to throw the blame on Eccius, and the cardinal of Gaeta.(a) If these conjectures were well founded, it would follow of course, that after the issuing of the bull, Luther still wished, and endeavoured, to bring about a reconciliation with the Roman see; and that the character and conduct of the great reformer must, in this instance, be viewed in a different light from that in which they have been placed in the following work.

For the establishment of his proposition, Seckendorf has chiefly relied on the letters of Charles Miltitz,

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(a) "Nec temperare mihi possum, quin omnes, etiam Lutheranismo infensos, qua possum animi contentione, rogem, ut legere illam (epistolam) et relegere, sepositoque affectu agnoscere velint, quantis in ultimo hoc conatu ad movendum pontificis animum, ut serie reformationi operam daret, sit spiritus; quamque solertia, invidiam a Leone amoventis, et culpam exasperatæ causæ in Cætanum et Eccium devolvantis; ut profecto inter rara, et admiratione dignissima scripta referri merito debeat." *Seck. de Lutherismo, lib. i. sec. 27. p. 98.* That this letter is of a conciliatory tenor is also asserted by Sleidan and other protestant writers, and insisted on with great warmth by some who have honoured my work with their remarks. I have, however, found no reason to alter the opinion which I have already given on this subject; but my opponents cannot complain, if in debating this point, I argue upon their own principles, and consider this letter, as they contend it to be, of a pacific tendency.

the papal envoy to Luther, of which he had obtained a sight after the publication of the first edition of his work. From these he presumes, that Miltitz had a conference with Luther on the eleventh of October, 1520, in which Luther promised, within twelve days, to write to the pontiff *modestly* and *humbly*, and to prefix his letter to a book which he was then writing, and intended to send to the pope; dating his letter on the sixth day of September preceding; (a) with which date it is said the letter now under consideration is published in the German edition of the works of Luther. Seckendorf has also stated, that on the twenty eighth day of August, 1520, a general chapter of the Augustine order was held at Isleben, when a deputation was sent to Luther to prevail upon him to write to the pope in moderate and conciliatory terms, which he promised to do. On the third of October, it seems however that Luther had again changed his mind, and determined not to write to the pontiff; until he was again prevailed upon to undertake that task by the persuasions of Miltitz, as before related. (b)

In the narrative which I have had occasion to give of the early part of the reformation, I have considered the letter which has given rise to this discussion as actually written on or about the sixth of April, 1520, the date which

(a) "Lutherns (scribit Miltitius) ex Spiritus Sancti inspiratione non offenditur, quicquid clament, aut quascunque bullas publicent. Scripturus est intra dies 12. ad Pontificem *modeste* prorsus et *humiliter*, in praefatione nempe libelli, quem elaboraturus et Pontifici missurus est. Epistolæ die adscribetur 6 Septemb. qui est decimus post Capitulum Augustin. Islebiense, et quindecimus a publicata bulla." *ap. Seck, lib. i. sec. 27. p. 99.*

(b) *Seck. de Lutheran, lib. i. sec. 27. p. 98.*

which it bears in the Latin edition of the works of Luther. This decision is strongly supported by the internal evidence of the letter itself, which for various reasons, could not have been written by Luther after the issuing of the papal bull.

This letter, it must be observed, contains a sort of history of the opposition of Luther to the Roman see, and of the violent and oppressive measures adopted by his adversaries against him; terminating with an account of the disputations at Leipsic in the month of June, 1519. Could Luther then, in a narrative of this nature, have omitted to notice the proceedings of the papal see from June, 1519, to September or October, 1520, and particularly the bull, which had then been published throughout Europe, and by which his doctrines were condemned and himself declared a heretic, unless he made his submission within a limited time? To advance such an assertion, is to attribute to Luther an absurdity of which he was surely never guilty, and a dereliction of his principles, which would have degraded him in the estimation both of his friends and his foes.

There is indeed great reason to believe, from the manner in which Luther refers in this letter, to the disputation at Leipsic, that the application made to him by the Augustine fathers, occurred in the year 1519, and not in 1520, as stated by Seckendorf and his followers. "These disputes," says Luther, (which the reader will please to observe took place on the twenty-seventh of June, 1519) "having had no other result than the greater confusion of the Roman see; in the third place, Charles Miltitz applies to the fathers of the Augustines, assembled in their chapter, and asks their advice about conciliating matters, which were then

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“ in a most deranged and dangerous state. Some of
 “ the most distinguished of them, when violence was
 “ found to be of no avail, were sent to me, and desired
 “ that I would at least honour the person of your holi-
 “ ness, and by humble letters demonstrate both your
 “ innocence and my own. That matters were not yet
 “ desperate, if Leo X. in accordance with his mild
 “ disposition, would endeavour to remedy them.”(a)
 From which it should appear that Miltitz, finding that
 the disputation at Leipsic had produced no good effect
 to the cause of Rome, applied soon afterwards to the
 Augustine fathers, as the next or succeeding measure,
 probably at their general chapter in the month of
 August, 1519; and that as matters were not yet despe-
 rate, (which could not surely be said after the issuing
 of the papal bull) Luther might still entertain hopes of a
 reconciliation. The result of the disputes at Leipsic,
 and the application of Miltitz to the Augustine fathers,
 are stated by Luther in the same sentence, as cause and
 effect; the latter being the immediate consequence of
 the failure of the former.(b) On any other supposition it
 would appear that Miltitz had remained in Germany
 upwards of a year after the disputes at Leipsic, without
 any effort to forward the business on which he came,
 and on which he was only employed about two years in
 the whole. The letters of Luther which appear with-
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(a) v. The original in the Appendix to this work, No. CLXXXII.

(b) If the express authority of Luther himself could be thought to
 stand in need of confirmation, it may be found in the narrative of
 Sleidan. “Quum autem occasione disputationis Lipsicæ, quam odiose
 tractaverat Eccius, doctrinam suam Lutherus magis illustraret ac
 patefaceret

out a date, but which Seckendorf, *of his own authority*, refers to the year 1520, apply with much greater propriety to the year 1519, when Luther had frequent meetings with Miltitz, and promised to write in humiliating terms to the pope; and are in perfect unison of sentiment and language with his other letters written at that period; but by no means agree with his temper and circumstances after the issuing of the bull in 1520. (a)

Again, it can scarcely escape notice, that Luther, in his letter to the pope, enters into a vindication of the part which

patefaceret, Militibus primores aliquot ordinis Augustiniani convocat. Communicato consilio, indicabant omnes ad componendum dissidium in primis fore idoneum, si quidem Lutherus, datis ad Pontificem literis, honorificum ei testimonium præberet. Horum itaque monitu, scribit illi, ad *Sextum Aprilis diem*, &c.—Postremo, librum a se recens conscriptum, *De Libertate Christiana* illi deferit, panegyrum eum commendans, quod veræ doctrinæ summam complectatur." *Sleid. lib. ii. in prin.*

(a) Seckendorf thus cites, in his own language, a MS letter of Luther to the elector Frederick, written in 1519, "Refert (Lutherus) Militibus vehementer heri exaggerasse contumeliam et injuriam quam Ecclesiæ Romanæ Lutherus intulisset; et se humillime, et quantum potuerit ad reparationem obtulisse. Exponit inde oblata, se posthac quieturum esse, ut negotium hoc per se expiraret, dummodo adversarii quoque sicerent, &c. Scripturum se Pontifici, cum humillima submissione, et agniturum quod nimis ferivus et acris fuerit," &c. *Seck. lib. i. sec. 47. p. 64.* If this be compared with the letter supposed by Seckendorf to have been written by Luther in October, 1520, and on which he grounds his argument, there will be found such a similarity of sentiment between them, as renders it highly incredible that one of them could have been written before, and the other after the issuing of the bull, and almost demonstrates (when it is considered that one of them is confessedly without a date) that they were written on the same occasion. Thus Luther addresses himself to Spalatinus. "Convenimus Lichtenbergæ, mi Spalatine, Dn. Carolus Militibus et ego; quantumque ex eo audio, magna spe statimque

which he had taken in the disputes at Leipsic; asserting that he was reluctantly dragged into the debate respecting the supremacy of the holy see by Eccius, who had taken advantage of an unguarded expression of his, on this subject. Admitting this letter to have been written about the time it bears date in the Latin edition, this explanation is sufficiently consistent with the character of Luther, and with his temper at this period; but to suppose that after his doctrines had been condemned by the papal bull, he would have apologized to the pontiff, for an expression which he had used at Leipsic fifteen months before, tending to impeach the supremacy of the Roman see, is not less remote from all probability of truth, than it is derogatory from the character of Luther.

It is indeed remarkable, that Seckendorf himself has not pretended to do more than to suggest some doubts as to the real time when the letter in question was written; (a) and it is still more remarkable, that in the second edition of his history, he has not ventured to adopt his own previous suggestions, by giving, or even mentioning this letter in the place where, according to chronological

statuimus, ut ego ad summum Pontificem epistolam edam, utraque lingua, præfixam parvulo alicui opusculo; in qua narrem historiam meam, et quod non unquam personam ejus appetierim, totum pondus in Eccium versurus. Quæ omnia, cum ita vere se habeant, facile facio, et quam possum humillime offeram silentium, modo ceteri quoque sileant; ut nihil videar omittere, quod in me ad pacem quoquo modo facere possit desiderandum; id quod semper facere paratus fui, quod non ignoras. Parabo itaque hæc ante omnia propediem; si eveniet, quod speramus, bene factum est; sin aliud erit, id quoque bonum erit." *ap. Seck. lib. sec. 67. p. 98.*

(a) "De tempore tamen quo tradita Epistola est, *dubitationem quandam infra aperiām.*" *Seck. lib. i. sec. 27. p. 98.*

chronological order, it ought to occupy so conspicuous a station; and where it would place the conduct of Luther, after the issuing of the bull, in so very different a light. On the contrary, he has assented to the narrative of Maimbourg, with whom he so seldom agrees in other respects, as to the uniform perseverance, and even violence of Luther after the issuing of the bull, without attempting in any manner to shew that Luther endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the papal see. He refers only to the new appeal of Luther to a general council, in which Luther personally attacks the pope as *a tyrant, a heretic, an apostate, and as Antichrist himself*,^(a) and to the two tracts published by Luther against the bull, which are dated the first of December, 1520, and are replete with the most violent invectives against the Roman see.^(b)

But independent of either the internal evidence of the letter, or any other conjectural proof, a due consideration of the following circumstances will fully decide the question. The letter of Luther was not a separate or occasional production, but was the dedication to Leo X. of the treatise of Luther *De Libertate Christiana*, actually prefixed to, and published with
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(a) "Sed nunc commotior Lutherus Pontificem ipsum, ob editam *Bullam*, pro tyranno, hæretico, apostata, antichristo, et superbo concilii contemtoze habet." *Seck. lib. i. sec. 31. p. 117.*

(b) One of these is entitled, "*Adversus execrabilem Antichristi Bullam*;" the other, *Assertio articulorum Martini Lutheri, per bullam Leonis X. novissime damnatorum*. These tracts are of considerable extent, and must have engaged the attention of Luther for several months before their publication.

that work in the early part of the year 1520.(a) In this form it is also given in the Jena edition of the writings of Luther, where it immediately precedes the treatise, and is inscribed, *The Epistle of Luther to the Roman Pontiff Leo X. PREFIXED TO HIS BOOK ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.*(b) The dedicatory words to the pontiff at the close of the letter admit of no doubt. *That I may not, says he, approach your holiness with empty hands, I bring with me this tract,* PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF YOUR NAME, *as an auspice of returning peace and favourable expectations.*(c) That this work preceded, in the order of publication, the treatise of Luther *De Captivitate Babylonica*, is not only apparent from the very different tenor of those writings, but is expressly stated by all the authors on this subject, and even by Seckendorf himself;(d) and the latter tract had made its appearance in the month of August, 1520.(e) The precise time of

(a) An edition was published at Wittemberg, in 1520, and entitled, *EPISTOLA LUTHERIANA ad Leonem Decimum summum Pontificem. TRACTATUS DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA.* The Letter and Tract were also printed at Antwerp in the same year; per *Michael. Hillenium.* And again at Wittemberg, in 1521; under the following title. *DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA, Dissertatio Martini Lutheri, per autorem recognita. EPISTOLA ejusdem ad Leonem Decimum summum Pontificem.*

(b) *Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem X. Rom. pontificem, LIBELLO DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA præfixa. Luth. op. tom. i. p. 385.*

(c) v. The letter in App. No. CLXXXII.

(d) *Sleidan lib. ii. in prin. Matm. ap. Seck. sec. 28. Seck. ibid. et in Indice, Script. Lutheri, an. 1520.*

(e) "Ad hæc Elector. d. 24 August. respondet, *Lutheri librum "jam editum esse; si id præcivisset, impediturum publicationem libe-
* ter fuisse. Non dubito libellum hunc esse eum, quem de Captivitate
" Babylonica.*

of the publication of the treatise *De Libertate Christiana*, is therefore, most probably, marked by the dedicatory letter itself, viz. the sixth of April, 1520, about two months before the issuing of the papal bull, when such language was not unsuitable to the dignity and character of Luther; but at whatever time it was published, it is evident that as it preceded the treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica*, which was published in or before the month of August, 1520, it could not on its first appearance have been accompanied by a letter which Luther is said not to have written till the ensuing month of October; and further, that the book which Luther is said by Miltitz to have been writing in the month of October, 1520, with the intention of sending it to the pope, could not have been the treatise on Christian Liberty.

Whether Luther did or did not promise to write to Leo X. after the issuing of the papal bull; whether he did or did not actually write to him, are not the present subjects of inquiry. The question is, whether Luther in the month of October wrote to him the letter printed in his Latin works with the date of the sixth of April, and this it is apparent he could not have done; the work to which the letter was annexed as a dedication, having been published at least before the month of August, and most probably in April, 1520. But as
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"*Babylonica* conscripsit." *Seck. lib. i. sec. 27. p. 98.* But in the interval between the publication of these two tracts, Luther also published a treatise in German, addressed to the emperor and the German nobility, in terms of such violence against the Roman see "ut etiam amici ejus libellum istum pro classico belli haberent." After noticing the contents of this work, Seckendorf adds, "Alter libellus mense Augusto prodit, titulum habens *De captivitate Babylonica*," &c. *Seck. lib. i. sec. 28. p. 112.*

some attempts have been made to impeach the accuracy of the Latin edition of the works of Luther, I shall offer a few remarks which may tend to prove its correctness, and more clearly to demonstrate that the date of the sixth of April is the genuine date of the letter in question.

This edition, which was begun in the year 1554,(a) was superintended by the particular friends of Luther soon after his death, and is preceded by a preface, written by his faithful adherent Nicholas Amsdorf. From this it appears that the writings of Luther had been previously collected without any proper attention to their order and arrangement; although it is of great importance, as Amsdorf observes, "to know *at what time* " each of them was published by their author." "For " many persons," adds he, "not having duly considered *the time*, have erred most scandalously, whilst " under the pretext of the writings of Luther, they " have undertaken to *reconcile Christ and Belial*. " Nor can it be denied that Luther, in the commencement of the controversy, whilst he was still fascinated by the received opinions, imprudently conceded " many things to his adversaries."

"These and similar errors," says he, "which deformed the writings of Luther, excited the pious " mind of the son of our late illustrious elector, to devise some method, by which the works of this holy man " might be given to the public in a pure, uncorrupt, " entire, and regular order, for the general use of the " church;

(a) It was carefully reprinted from the first edition, at Jena, in 1612, in four volumes; to which latter edition the references in this work are made.

“ church; and might be transmitted to posterity faithfully, and free from blemish. For this purpose he called from Denmark, the venerable and learned Georgius Rorarius, to whom Luther himself had deputed this task, and established a printing-office at Jena, that all his works might be published with exact attention to the order of time, entire and unadulterated, and without any interference from the comments of other persons.”(a)

In the subsequent part of the preface, Amsdorf again insists upon the accuracy of this chronological order in the publication of the writings of Luther, as the great excellency of the work. “The reader must be informed,” says he, “that by this first volume of the tracts of Luther, published in the years 1517, 18, 19, 20, and 21, a history is formed, which
“ shews

(a) Postremò, Scripta Lutheri sine singulari cura ordinis collecta sunt, cum quidem plurimum referat scire, quo tempore ~~unumquodque~~ ab Autore editum sit. Nam multi, non considerata temporum serie, *turpiter hallucinantur*; dum prætextu scriptorum Lutheri, Christum et Bellial conciliare student. Neque verò negari potest, virum Dei, sub initium controversiæ, cum adhuc fasciatus esset receptis opinionibus, et Monachorum exercitia magnificeret, quædam imprudenter scripasisse, et adversariis concessisse.

Hi et similes ævi, quibus scripta D. Martini Lutheri deformata erant, excitarunt piam mentem Illustrissimi Principis Electoris nati, laudatæ memoriæ, ut post divinam liberationem, de viis et rationibus cogitaret, quibus sancti Viri monumenta, propter publicam Ecclesiæ utilitatem, *purè, incorruptè, integrè, ordinè*, et sine ullis medicamentis ederentur, et ad posteros optima fide transmitterentur. Itaque ex Dania vocavit venerandum et doctrina præstantem Virum, Dominum et fratrem meum in Christo charissimum, M. Georgium Rorarium, cui Lutherus ipse hoc negotii dederat, et officinam typographicam Jenæ instituit, ut omnes libri, quorum jam sæpe mentio facta est, *accurata temporum notatione adhibita*, integrè et inviolatè, ac procul remotis aliorum commentariis ederentur. *Præf. Amsd. in Luth. op.*

“ shews the beginning and progress of the disputes
 “ about religion, the causes that impelled Luther to the
 “ contest, and that the light of the holy spirit became
 “ gradually stronger and clearer in his mind.”(a)
 After such declarations is it possible to suppose that the
 letter in question, prefixed to the treatise on Christian
 Liberty, printed with that treatise, with the date of
 the sixth of April, and followed in the works of
 Luther, at a considerable distance and after several
 intervening publications by the papal bull, was not
 written until after such bull had been issued? and even not
 until after the tract *De Captivitate Babylonica*, which
 was published in August, 1520, and appears in its
 proper place in the Jena edition of the works of Luther?

It is indeed surprising that any person who has paid
 the least attention to the subject, should not have per-
 ceived how inconsistent it would have been with the
 character of Luther, and how contradictory to his
 known declarations and conduct, to have addressed
 himself to the pope, after the issuing of the bull, in
 terms which could, on any construction, be suppos-
 ed to have been pacific and conciliatory. From his
 own letters, it appears that he knew of the bull
 early in the month of July, and that he then form-
 ed a resolution never more to be reconciled, or
 hold communion with the church of Rome. “ The
 “ die is now cast;” says he, “ the Roman fury and
 “ the

(a) “ Sciat igitur Lector, in hoc tomo librorum D. Lutheri, quos sub
 “ initium controversiæ, anno 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. edidit, recitari His-
 “ toriam, quæ docet qualia fuerint initia et progressiones disputa-
 “ tionum de Religione; quæ causa Lutherum ad hæc certamina im-
 “ pulerit, et quod lux spiritus sancti subinde clarior et firmior in
 “ mente ipsius facta sit.” *Amsd. ut sup.*

" the Roman favour are alike despised ; I never more
 " will be reconciled with them, nor communicate with
 " them in future. Let them condemn and burn my
 " writings. I, in return, unless fire shall be wanting,
 " will condemn and publicly burn the whole pontifical
 " law ; that is, that Hydra-heresy ; and there shall be
 " an end of my hitherto fruitless obedience." (a) Whether Luther deviated from this his first resolution, sufficiently appears by his subsequent conduct.

Another striking indication of the disposition of Luther, appears in his treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica*. At the close of this work he also admits that he had heard of the bull and of the sentence of excommunication issued against him, unless he should renounce his errors ; to which he ironically adds, " If this be true, let this
 " book be taken as a part of my retraction ; and lest
 " they should think that their tyranny has produced no
 " effect, I shall soon, Christ willing, publish the remainder, which shall abundantly testify my obedience,
 " in such a manner as the Roman see never saw or
 " heard of before." (b)

Thus far the declarations of Luther during the months of July and August next after the issuing of the papal

(a) " A me quidem, jacta mihi alea, contemptus est Romanus furor et favor ; nolo eis reconcillari nec communicare in perpetuum ; damnet exurantque mea. Ego vicissim, nisi ignem habere nequeam, damnabo, publiceque concremabo Jus Pontificium totum, id est, Lernam illam hæresium ; et finem habebit humilitatis exhibitæ hactenusque frustratæ observantia." *Ap. Sæcl. M6. l. sec. 27. p. 111.*

(b) " Auditum enim audio, paratas esse denuo in me Bullas te diras papisticas, quibus ad revocationem urgear, aut hæreticus de-
 " clarer.

papal bull. But it is yet more remarkable that in the month of October, and at the precise time when he is supposed to have written the letter in question, he still adhered to his former resolution, never more to be reconciled to the Roman see. In a letter of the thirteenth of that month, he declares that "as to the bull, respecting which others wrote so much to the Roman court, he despised it, and would attack it as false and impious, and in every respect, *Eccian*." (a) If the supposition of my opponents were well founded, Luther assured Miltitz that he would write to the pope within twelve days from the *eleventh* of October, *modestly and humbly*, and would date such letter on the sixth day of September preceding, and prefix it to a book which he was then writing, and intended to send to the pontiff. What the sentiments of Luther were on the *thirteenth* of October we have just now seen, and that no alteration took place between the thirteenth and the thirtieth of the same month, may be inferred from another letter said to be nearly in the same words as the former; (b) and yet we are required to believe that during this precise interval Luther wrote to conciliate Leo X.

It must also be observed that from several passages in the letters of Luther at this period, it is evident that he

"clarer. Quæ si vera sunt, hunc libellum volo partem esse revocationis meæ futuræ, ne suam tyrannidem frustra inflatam querantur, reliquam partem propediem editurus sum, talem, Christo propitio, qualem hactenus non viderit nec audierit Romana sedes, obedientiam meam abunde testaturus." *Luth. op. tom. ii. p. 286.*

(a) "Bulla ista Romana per Eccium allata, de qua nostrî scribunt ad Pontificem Plura; ego eam contemno, & jam invado tanquam impiam et mendacem, omnibusque modis Eccianam." *Ap. Seck. lib. i. sec. 29. p. 114.*

(b) *Seck. lib. i. sec. 29. p. 115.*

he was then preparing his two tracts before mentioned as an answer to the bull, which he published, and which appear in his works, with the date of the first day of December, 1520:(a) In the preface to the first of these, *Adversus execrabilem Antichristi Bullam*, he treats the bull as a surreptitious production; pretending that he is uncertain whether the papists are mocking him, or whether they are really so insane at Rome as to have issued such a bull. "How-
 " ever this may be," says he, " it is certainly not in-
 " credible, that where *Éccius* is the apostle, there will
 " the reign of Antichrist be found, and every madness
 " committed. In the mean time I shall be cautious in
 " believing that Leo X. with his learned cardinals can
 " have been the authors of such insanity; to which
 " caution I am led, not so much by any desire to de-
 " fend the honour of the Roman see, as that I may
 " not myself be inflated by vain-glory, in having been
 " found worthy to bear such a great and fortunate lot,
 " for the sake of the truth of God. For if indeed the
 " Roman pontiff thus rages against me, who can be
 " happier in the sight of God than Luther, who is thus
 " condemned by such high authority for such manifest
 " truth; or what can I have to wish for, but that I
 " should never be absolved or reconciled, nor ever
 " more communicate with that most ignorant, most
 " impious, and most ferocious Antichrist. Happy
 " that day! Happy that death; to be received with
 " joy and the highest gratitude to God, should I be
 " destined to be found employed, and to perish in such
 f " a cause!

(a) It does not appear that Luther wrote any book after the publication of the bull, and before December, 1520, except these two tracts, neither of which could surely be the work which, as Miltitz informs us, he was then writing, and intended to send as a peace-offering to the pope.

"a cause!"(a) He then declares, in the presence of God and of Jesus Christ, the holy angels and the whole world, that he wholly dissents from the damnable doctrines of the bull, which he anathematizes and execrates, as the sacrilegious and blasphemous adversary of our Lord Jesus Christ. He asserts his own articles condemned by the bull, and proposes them to be believed by all christians, under pain of eternal damnation; declaring that he shall consider all those who assent to the bull as antichrists and as heathens.(b) Nor is he less severe, or less violent, in the work itself than in the preface. He there calls upon the pope and his

(a) "Verum quicquid sit, mihi incredibile non est, ubi Apostolus "Eccius auditur et valet, ibi Antichristi regnum esse, et nihil non "insaniarum homines audere. Interim tamen agam, ne credam "Leonem X. Romanum Episcopum, cum suis eruditis cardinalibus, "esse harum insaniarum autores, quod non tam facio, ut Romani "nominis honorem custodiam, quam ne superbia nimis infer, et "dignus mihi videar, talia tam pulchra, tam gloriosa, pati pro "veritate Dei. Si enim vere Romanus Episcopus in me sic insaniret, quis Luthero coram Deo felicior esset, qui ob tam manifestam "veritatem a tanto vertice damnaretur? Quid enim optandum mihi "foret, quam ut nunquam absolverer, reconciliarer, communicarer "Antichristo isti indoctissimo, impiissimo, furiosissimo? Felix illa "dies, felix illa mora, cum gaudio et summa gratitudine Deo referenda, si quando fiat, ut in ista causa me apprehendat, et perdat." *Luth. op. tom 2. p. 287.*

(b) "Existimationem igitur suam quisque habeat de Romanis, "Ego, quisquis fuerit hujus Bullæ autor, eum pro Antichristo habeo, "et contra Antichristum hæc scribo, redempturus veritatem Christi "quod in me fuerit, quam ille extinguere conatur. Atque primum, "ut nihil in me obtineat ex omnibus quæ voluit, protestor coram "Deo and Domino nostro Jesu Christo, et sanctis Angelis ejus, et "toto mundo, me dissentire toto corde damnationi hujus bullæ, quam "et maledico et execror, velut hostem sacrilegam et blasphemiam "Christi filii Dei et Domini nostri, Amen. Deinde assero et amplector fiducia tota spiritus mei articulos per eam damnatos, asserendosque pronuntio omnibus Christianis, sub pœna æternæ maledictionis; et Antichristos habendos quicumque Bullæ consense-
" rint,

his cardinals to repent of their errors, and put an end to their diabolical blasphemies, "otherwise," he adds, "be it known to you, that I and all other christians shall consider your see as the seat of Antichrist, possessed by Satan himself; which not only will we not obey, nor own ourselves subject to, or incorporated with, but shall detest and execrate, as the chief enemy of Christ; being prepared in this our decision, not only to bear with joy your stupid censures, but even to request that you will never absolve us, or number us among your followers, as we would rather fulfil your cruel tyranny by offering up to you our lives. If then the spirit of Christ and the vigour of our faith be of any avail, we in return condemn you, if you persevere in your fury, and deliver over you and your bull, with all your decretals to Satan, that by the destruction of the flesh your souls may be liberated in the coming of the Lord. In the name of him whom ye persecute, Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen." (a)

In the foregoing passage Luther again refers to his invariable resolution of committing the bull, with the Roman

"rint, quos et his scriptis, conjuncto mihi omnium spiritu qui purè Christum cognoscunt et colunt, pro Ethnicis habeo et devito, secundum præceptum ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi Amen. Hæc mea Revocatio esto, o Bulla, vere Bullarum filia." *Luth. op. ut. sup.*

(a) "Te igitur Leo X. vos Domini Cardinales Romæ, et quinque Romæ aliquid estis, compello, et in faciem vobis libere dico, si vestro nomine vestraque scientia hæc Bulla exivit, eamque vestram agnoscitis, utar et ego potestate mea, qua in baptismo, per Dei misericordiam factus sum filius Dei, et coheres Christi, fundatus supra firmam petram, quæ nec portas inferi, nec cælum, nec terram formidat, et dico, moneo, hortor vos in Domino, ut ad cor redeatis, istis diabolicis blasphemiiis, et plus valde nimio audacibus impietatibus modum ponatis; atque id cito. Quod nisi feceritis

Roman decretals, to the flames; a resolution which he carried into effect at Wittemberg on the tenth day of December, 1520; and thus accomplished in their full extent the threats, which, as we have seen, he had thrown out as early as the month of July preceding.

The real feelings and conduct of Luther on this occasion are to be judged of, not from the letters of the papal agent, who might misrepresent him to the pope, but from his own undoubted declarations and writings, which form an almost uninterrupted series, and in which he uniformly attacks the Roman court with a degree of violence, wholly inconsistent with the idea, that he had ever, from the issuing of the bull, entertained the slightest hope or wish for reconciliation. By this bull, it must be remembered, that forty one points of doctrine, asserted by Luther, were condemned as heretical and scandalous. Can it then be supposed that he would have deserted the defence of his opinions, to write, as is pretended, a humble letter to the pope, for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation? If he could have been guilty of such a dereliction of his principles, it would have subjected him, in reality, to the hypothetical animadversions of Mosheim,

“feceritis, scitote me, cum omnibus qui Christum colunt, vestram
 “sedem, a Satano ipso possessam et oppressam, pro sede damnata
 “Antichristi habere, cui non modo non obediamus, aut subditi et con-
 “corporati esse velimus, sed detestamur et execramur, sicut princi-
 “pem et summum hostem Christi; parati pro hac sententia nostra,
 “stultas vestras censuras non modo cum gaudio ferre, sed etiam ro-
 “gare ne unquam nos absolvatis, aut inter vestros numeretis, quin
 “ut cruentam vestram tyrannidem expleatis, ad mortem nos ultra
 “offerimus. Quod si quid spiritus Christi et impetus fidei nostræ va-
 “let, his scriptis, si perseveraveritis in furore isto, vos damnamus et
 “una cum Bulla ista, omnibusque Decretalibus Satanz tradimus, in
 “interitum carnis ut spiritus vester in die Domini nobiscum liberetur.
 “In nomine, quem vos persequimini, Jesu Christi Domini nostri,
 “Amen.” *Luth. op. tom. 2. p. 289.*

Mosheim, which, although applied to Luther after the confirmatory bull of excommunication, in 1521, would have been equally proper on this occasion. "To submit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, would have been the greatest degree of imprudence imaginable; and to embrace anew, errors that he had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a want of integrity and principle worthy only of the most abandoned profligate." (a)

After this explicit statement, I might in my turn accuse my opponents of having engaged in this discussion without having previously paid sufficient attention to the subject, and of having rashly contended for such a construction of the conduct of Luther, as would have led to consequences of which they were not aware; but I am so far from retorting their censures, that I feel gratified by the opportunity which their remarks have afforded me, of obviating the only charge of an error in point of fact, which has hitherto been brought against my work; and at the sametime of examining, still more particularly, the conduct of Luther, at one of the most critical and active periods of his life, and removing from the records of ecclesiastical history an important error, highly injurious to the great reformer, and to which several protestant writers, subsequent to Seckendorf, have incautiously given their support.

I cannot however finally quit this subject without some
notice

(a) *Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.* by Maclean. vol. ii p. 29.

notice of the charges which have so generally been connected with those before-mentioned, and by which it has been insinuated, or asserted, that I have endeavoured to discredit the characters of the early reformers, and to depreciate the beneficial effects of the reformation, as well by a reference to the well-known persecution of Servetus, as on other occasions. In answer to this I must be allowed to observe, that the idea that the following work is hostile to the reformation, is a misrepresentation, industriously circulated by those who, under the pretext of a warm attachment to the cause of protestantism, are as adverse to all religious liberty as the most bigotted Roman Catholic; and that whoever peruses the following pages with an impartial eye, cannot fail to discover, that so far from depreciating the beneficial effects of the reformation, I have only had to regret that it was not carried to the full extent for which its promoters originally contended. To this I can add, with great sincerity, that in adverting to the persecutions of which protestants have been guilty, my only object has been to excite that abhorrence of persecution, under every form and pretext, which is the surest safeguard against its return. If it should appear, as has been imputed to me, that I have animadverted with more severity on the protestants than on the papists, it is because better things were to have been expected from them; because they who asserted the right of private judgment in themselves, ought not to have denied it to others; because they who have represented the cruelties and persecutions of the church of Rome as the greatest of her abominations, ought to have been peculiarly cautious how they gave rise to similar charges against themselves; and lastly, because it is more painful to perceive

ceive a disgraceful blot among those with whom we are nearly associated, than among those who are further removed from us in principles and opinions. Hence the persecution of Servetus, conducted by Calvin, and approved by Bullinger and Melancthon, has been exhibited in those colours which it so justly merits; and should, if it were in my power, be still further raised up, as a perpetual beacon, to guard mankind against the possible recurrence of an event which outrages at once the feelings of humanity, the dictates of common sense, and the religion of Christ. It is not on the doctrinal tenets of any established church, whatever its adherents may believe, that we are to rely for the rejection of those intolerant and persecuting principles which have for so many ages disgraced the Roman see. "Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments which were denounced against their own disciples by the church of Rome, on such as called in question any article in their creeds."^(a) To have freed the human race from the dread of violence and persecution, in the exercise of religion and the pursuit of truth, would have conferred greater honour on Luther than the enforcement of any dogmatical opinions whatever. To his good intentions and incorruptible integrity, the following work bears uniform and ample testimony; but with the restraints of his superiors, Luther could not shake off the trammels of his education; and his highest aim was only to establish another despotism in the place of that from which he had himself escaped. In thus sanctioning, by his opinion and example, the continuance of an exterior and positive control over the consciences of mankind, he confirmed the pretensions of the Roman see; and may

more

(a) Robertson's Charles V. book ii.

more justly be said to have shared its authority, than to have invalidated its unjust assumptions. But the principles of toleration are derived from higher views; from an enlarged idea of the wisdom, the goodness, and the impartiality of the supreme Being, from the cultivation of generous and social affections; and in short, from the exercise of the christian religion as taught by its great founder, and not as perverted by the ambition, the obstinacy, or the ignorance of his erring followers.

I trust it will be understood that I have not engaged in the foregoing discussions without great reluctance. To malicious misrepresentations, ignorant cavils, and illiberal abuse, I entertain the most perfect indifference; but in this instance, an error of some importance has been gravely imputed to me. I could not expect that my readers in general, should enter upon an examination of the different writers on this subject, and a long investigation of historical and ecclesiastical evidence to determine between me and my censors, and I have therefore thought it necessary to illustrate the subject by further authorities, and to confirm the opinion which I have before advanced. I feel it a duty towards those who have honoured my writings with their approbation, not to suffer them to be depreciated by an unfounded charge in a point of historical fact; and a still greater duty not to relinquish the defence of those principles of liberty, of toleration, and of truth, which I have hitherto invariably asserted, and which I shall continue to maintain, independent alike either of censure or of praise.

CHAP. I.

1475.—1493.

BIRTH of Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X.—Sovereigns of Christendom—Political state of Europe—Peculiarities of the papal Government—Temporal power of the popes—Union of the spiritual and temporal authority—Advantages of the papal Government—Destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the Church—His early preferments—His father endeavours to raise him to the rank of a Cardinal—Marriage of Francesco Cibò and Madalena de' Medici—Giovanni raised to the dignity of the purple—Letter from Politiano to the pope—Studies of Giovanni—Bernardo Dovizio da Bibbiena—Defects in the character of Giovanni accounted for—His father endeavours to shorten the term of his probation—Giulio de' Medici afterwards Clement VII.—Giovanni invested with the insignia of his rank—Quits Florence to reside at Rome—Eminent Cardinals then in the college—Zizim brother of the Sultan Bajazet delivered into the custody of the pope—Ermolao Barbaro patriarch of Aquileja—Rumours of approaching calamities.



CHAP. I.

GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI, afterwards supreme pontiff by the name of **LEO THE TENTH**, was the second son of **Lorenzo de' Medici**, called the Magnificent, by his wife **Clarice**, the daughter of **Giacopo Orsino**. He was born at Florence, on the eleventh day of December, 1475; and most probably received his baptismal name after his paternal great uncle, **Giovanni**, the second son of **Cosmo de' Medici**, who died in the year 1461; or from **Giovanni Tornabuoni**, the brother of

CHAP.
I.A. D. 1475.
Birth of
Giovanni
de' Medici
afterwards
Leo X.

CHAP. Lucretia, mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, who
I. was then living.

A. D. 1475.

At the time of the birth of Giovanni, the age of portents was not yet past; and it has been recorded with all the gravity of history, that prior to that event, his mother dreamt that she was delivered of an enormous, but docile lion; which was supposed to be a certain prognostic, not only of the future eminence of her son, but also of the name which he was to assume on arriving at the papal dignity.(a) Whether the dream gave rise to the appellation, or the appellation to the dream, may admit of doubt; but although nothing appears in his infancy to justify his being compared to a lion, in his early docility he seems at least to have realized the supposed prognostics of his mother.

The year in which Giovanni was born is distinguished in the annals of Italy as a year of peace and tranquillity, whilst almost all the rest of Europe was involved in the calamities of internal commotions, or of foreign war.
It

(a) *Jovii, vita Leonis x. lib. i. Ammirato, Ritratto di Leone x. in Opusc. iii. 62.*

It was also solemnized as the year of Jubilee, which was thenceforwards celebrated once in twenty-five years.

CHAP.
I.

A. D. 1475.

At this period the pontifical chair was filled by Sixtus IV. who had not yet evinced that turbulent disposition which was afterwards so troublesome, not only to the family of the Medici and the city of Florence, but to all the states of Italy. The kingdom of Naples was governed by Ferdinand, the illegitimate son of Alfonso king of Naples, Aragon, and Sicily; who had bequeathed the first of these kingdoms to his son, but was succeeded in the two latter by his brother John II. the father of another Ferdinand, who now enjoyed them, and by his marriage with Isabella, the sister of Henry IV. of Castile, united the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile under one dominion. The states of Milan were yet held by Galeazzo Maria, the son of the great Francesco Sforza. Frederick III. had long worn the imperial crown. Louis XI. was king of France; Edward IV. of England; and the celebrated Mattia Corvino, had lately been elected by the free voice of his countrymen, to the supreme dominion of Hungary.

Sovereigns
of Europe
at that
time.

The

CHAP.
I.

A. D. 1475.

The political system of Europe was as yet unformed. The despotic sovereign, governing a half-civilized people, had in general only two principal ends in view; the supporting of his authority at home by the depression of his powerful nobles, and the extending of his dominion abroad by the subjugation of his weaker neighbours. Devoted to these objects, which frequently required all their talents and all their resources, the potentates of Europe had beheld with the utmost indifference the destruction of the eastern empire, and the abridgment of the christian territory, by a race of barbarians, who were most probably prevented only by their own dissensions, from establishing themselves in Italy, and desolating the kingdoms of the west. It was in vain that Pius II. had called upon the European sovereigns to unite in the common cause. The ardour of the crusades was past. A jealousy of each other, or of their own subjects, was an insuperable obstacle to his entreaties; and the good pontiff was at length convinced, that his eloquence would be better employed in prevailing on the Turkish Emperor to relinquish his creed and embrace christianity, than in stimulating the princes of Europe to resist his arms. (a)

The

(a) Pii. II. *Epist. ad Illustrissimum Mahumelum Tur-*
corum

The establishment and long uninterrupted continuance of the papal government, may justly be considered as amongst the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind. To the sincere catholic this indeed is the great evidence of the truth of the religion which he professes, the perpetual miracle which proves a constant extension of the divine favour to that church, *against which the gates of hell shall not prevail*; but they who conceive that this phenomenon, like other events of the moral world, is to be accounted for from secondary causes, and from the usual course of nature, will perhaps be inclined to attribute it to the ductility and habitual subservience of the human mind, which, when awed by superstition, and subdued by hereditary prejudices, can not only assent to the most incredible propositions, but act in consequence of these convictions with as much energy and perseverance, as if they were the clearest deductions of reason, or the most evident dictates of truth. Whilst the other sovereigns of Europe held their dominions by lineal succession, by choice of election, or by what politicians have denominated the right

C. H. A. P.
I.

A. D. 1475.

Nature of
the papal
government.

corum principem, inter ejus Ep. imp. per Antonium Zarathum, Mediolan, 1487.

CHAP.
I.

A. D. 1475.

right of conquest ; the Roman pontiff claimed his power as the immediate vicegerent of God ; and experience has shewn, that for a long course of ages, his title was considered as the most secure of any in Europe. Nor has the papal government, in later times, received any great trouble from the turbulence of its subjects, who instead of feeling themselves degraded, were perhaps gratified in considering themselves as the peculiar people of a sovereign, whose power was not bounded by the limits of his own dominions, but was as extensive as christianity itself.

Origin of
the tempo-
ral power of
the popes.

Without entering upon a minute inquiry into the origin of the temporal authority of the Roman pontiffs, it may be sufficient to observe, that even after they had emerged from their pristine state of poverty and humility, they remained for many ages in an acknowledged subordination to the Roman emperors, and to their delegates, the exarchates of Ravenna ; to whom, when the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople, the government of Italy was intrusted. As the power of the emperors declined, that of the popes increased ; and in the contests of the middle ages, during which the Huns, the Vandals, the Imperialists, and the Franks, were suc-
sively

sively masters of Italy, a common veneration among these ferocious conquerors for the father of the faithful, and the head of the christian church, not only secured his safety, but enlarged his authority. (a) From the time of the emperor Constantine, various grants, endowments, and donations of extensive territories,

(a) The coining of money by the Roman pontiffs may be considered as a mark of sovereign and independent authority; but at what precise period they began to exercise this right, is not easily ascertained. Muratori, in his *Annali d'Italia*, vol. iv. p. 464, informs us, that the popes coined money, in gold, silver, and copper, from the time of Charlemagne (about the year 800) and that the city of Rome had enjoyed that privilege *ab antiquo*. Other writers have assigned an earlier date, which opinion they have founded on a coin of Zacharia, who filled the pontifical chair from the year 740 to 751—v. *Dissertaz. del Conte Giacomo Acami dell'origine ed antichità della Zecca Pontificia*, p. 8, Ed. Rom. 1752. This subject has given rise to serious controversy, even among the firmest adherents to the church. Muratori and Fontanini have embraced different opinions, which they have endeavoured to support in several learned publications, in which the ancient rights of the emperors and the popes to various parts of Italy are particularly discussed. All collectors however agree in commencing their series from Adrian I. created pope in 762, from which time Acami has given a succession of thirty-four coins of different pontiffs, some of which, are however supposed, to have issued from the metropolitan sees of England, for the purpose of paying tribute to Rome.

CHAP. ries, are said to have been conferred by different princes on the bishops of Rome; inso-
 —————
 A. p. 1475. much, that there is scarcely any part of Italy to which they have not at some period asserted a claim. That many of these grants are supposititious is generally acknowledged; (a) whilst the validity of others, which are admitted to have existed, frequently rests merely on the temporary right of some intruder, whose only title was his sword, and who, in many instances, gave to the pontiff what he could no longer retain for himself. Under the colour however of these donations, the popes possessed themselves of different parts of Italy, and among the rest, of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, extending along a considerable part of the Adriatic coast, to which they gave the

(a) The donation of Constantine, is humourously, but boldly placed by Ariosto, among the trumpery which, being lost on earth, was found by Astolfo stored up in the moon; the prayers of the wicked, the sighs of lovers, the crowns of forgotten sovereigns, and the verses written in praise of great men.

“ Di varj fiori ad un gran monte passa,
 “ Ch’ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte;
 “ Questo era il dono, se però dir lece,
 “ Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece.”

Orl. Fur. cant. 34. st. 80,

the name of Romania, or Romagna.(a) The subsequent dissensions between the popes and the emperors, the frequent schisms which occurred in the church, the unwarlike nature of the papal government, and above all, the impolitic transfer of the residence of the supreme pontiffs from Rome to Avignon, in the fourteenth century, combined to weaken the authority which the popes had in the course of so many ages acquired; and in particular the cities of Romagna, throwing off their dependence on the papal see, either formed for themselves peculiar and independent governments, or became subject to some successful adventurer, who acquired his superiority by force of arms. No longer able to maintain an actual authority, the Roman pontiffs endeavoured to reserve at least a paramount or confirmatory

(a) The validity of these donations, and particularly those of Pepin, king of France, and of his son Charlemagne, is strongly insisted on by Ammirato, who attempts to shew, that the authority of the popes extended far beyond the limits of Italy; but as he appears not to have distinguished between their temporal and their ecclesiastical power, little reliance is to be placed on his opinion. *Ammir. Discorso come la Chiesa Romana sia cresciuta ne' beni temporali. Opusc. v. ii. p. 67.* Those readers who are inclined to examine more particularly into this subject, may consult the *Fasciculus rerum Expellendarum & Fugiendarum, tom. i. p. 124,*

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I.

A. D. 1475.

confirmatory right; and as the sanction of the pope was not a matter of indifference to these subordinate sovereigns, he delegated to them his power on easy conditions, by investing them with the title of vicars of the church. (a) It was thus the family of Este obtained the dominion of Ferrara, which they had extended, in fact, to an independent principality. Thus the cities of Rimini and Cesena were held by the family of Malatesta; Faenza and Imola by the Manfredi; and many other cities of Italy became subject to petty sovereigns, who governed with despotic authority, and by their dissensions frequently rendered that fertile, but unhappy country, the theatre of contest, of rapine, and of blood.

From this period the temporal authority of the popes was chiefly confined to the district entitled the patrimony of St. Peter, with some detached parts of Umbria, and the *Marea d' Ancona*. The claims of the church were not

(a) Guicciardini *Historia. d' Italia. lib. iv.* The passage here referred to, in which the historian has traced with great ability the rise and vicissitudes of the temporal authority of the popes, is omitted in the general editions of his works, and even in that of Torrentino, *Flor.* 1561, *fo.* but may be found in those of Stoer, 1636, 1645. *Geneva.*

not however suffered to remain dormant, whenever an opportunity of enforcing them occurred, and the recovery of its ancient possessions had long been considered as a duty indispensably incumbent on the supreme pontiff. But although for this purpose he scrupled not to avail himself of the arms, the alliances, and the treasures of the church, yet, when the enterprize proved successful, it generally happened, that the conquered territory only exchanged its former lord for some near kinsman of the reigning pontiff, who during the life of his benefactor, endeavoured to secure and extend his authority by all the means in his power.

The Roman pontiffs have always possessed an advantage over the other sovereigns of Europe, from the singular union of ecclesiastical and temporal power in the same person; two engines, which long experience had taught them to use with a dexterity equal to that, with which the heroes of antiquity availed themselves by turns of the shield and the spear. When schemes of ambition and aggrandizement were to be pursued, the pope, as a temporal prince, could enter into alliances, raise supplies, and furnish his contingent of troops, so as effectually to carry on an offensive war ;
but

Union of
the spiritu-
al temporal
authority

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I.

A. D. 145.

but no sooner was he endangered by defeat, and alarmed for the safety of his own dominions, than he resorted for shelter to his pontifical robes, and loudly called upon all christendom to defend from violation the head of the holy church. (a) That these characters were successively assumed with great address and advantage, will sufficiently appear from the following pages; and although some difficulties might occasionally arise in the exercise of them, yet, notwithstanding the complaint of one of the ablest apologists of the Roman pontiffs, (b) the world

(a) Bayle, in his dictionary, *Art. Leon x.* note r, has some observations, rather more fanciful than solid, on this union of spiritual and temporal authority in the same person; which he concludes, by relating the story of a German bishop, who was also a count and baron of the empire, and who having attempted to justify to a peasant the extraordinary pomp which he assumed, by adverting to his temporal dignity, yes, replied the rustic, *but when my lord the count and baron is sent to hell, where will then be my lord the bishop?*

(b) “ Oltre à ciò, è sì difficile l’empier con gli altri
 “ principi insieme le parti di Padre nello spirituale, e di
 “ competitore spesso nel temporale, che talora son ripresi
 “ dalla fama come troppo interessati, ò poco caritativi i pon-
 “ tefici, perchè hanno ò difesi ò recuperati quei sudditi alla
 “ cui protezione gli obbliga il patto scambievole tra’l signore
 “ e’l vassallo.” *Pallavicini, Istoria del Conc. di Trento.*
c. i. p. 47. Ed. Rom. 1665.

World has, upon the whole, been sufficiently indulgent to their situation; nor has even the shedding of Christian blood been thought an invincible objection to the conferring on a deceased pontiff the honour of adoration, and placing him in the highest order of sainthood conferred by the church.(a)

CHAP.

A. D. 1473.

It is not however to be denied, that the papal government, although founded on so singular a basis, and exercised with despotic authority, has been attended with some advantages peculiar to itself, and beneficial to its subjects. Whilst the choice of the sovereign, by the decision of a peculiar body of electors, on the one hand preserves the people from those dissensions which frequently arise from the disputed right of hereditary claimants; on the other hand, it prevents those tumultuous debates which too frequently result from the violence of a popular election. By this system the dangers of a minority in the governor are avoided, and the sovereign assumes the command at a time of life, when it may be presumed that passion is subdued by reason, and experience matured into wisdom.

Some advantages of the papal government.

(a) SAN LEONE IX.

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I.

A. D. 1475.

dom. The qualifications by which the pope is supposed to have merited the supreme authority, are also such as would be most likely to direct him in the best mode of exercising it. Humility, chastity, temperance, vigilance, and learning, are among the chief of these requisites; and although some of them have confessedly been too often dispensed with, yet few individuals have ascended the pontifical throne without possessing more than a common share of intellectual endowments. Hence the Roman pontiffs have frequently displayed examples highly worthy of imitation, and have signalized themselves, in an eminent degree, as patrons of science, of letters, and of art. Cultivating, as ecclesiastics, those studies which were prohibited or discouraged among the laity, they may in general be considered as superior to the age in which they have lived; and among the predecessors of Leo X. the philosopher may contemplate with approbation the eloquence and courage of Leo I. who preserved the city of Rome from the ravages of the barbarian Attila; the beneficence, candour, and pastoral attention of Gregory I. unjustly charged with being the adversary of liberal studies; the various acquirements of Silvester II. so extraordinary in the eyes of his contemporaries, as to cause him to be considered

sidered as a sorcerer ; the industry, acuteness, and learning of Innocent III. of Gregory IX. of Innocent IV. and of Pius II. and the munificence and love of literature so strikingly displayed in the character of Nicholas V.

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I.

A. D. 1475.

Notwithstanding the extensive influence acquired by the Roman see, that circumstance had not, for a long course of time, induced the princes of Europe to attempt to vest the pontifical authority in any individual of their own family. Whether this forbearance was occasioned by an idea, that the long course of humiliation by which alone this dignity could be obtained, was too degrading to a person of royal birth, or by a contempt for every profession but that of arms, may be a subject of doubt ; but from whatever cause it arose, it appears to have been, in the fifteenth century, completely removed ; almost every sovereign in Italy, and perhaps in Europe, striving with the utmost ardour to procure for their nearest relations a seat in the sacred college, as a necessary step to the pontifical chair. What the European princes endeavoured to accomplish in the persons of their own kindred, the popular governments attempted in those of their most illustrious citizens ; and the favour bestowed by Paul II. upon his countrymen the

Causes of
the destination
of Giovanni de'
Medici to
the church.

CHAP.

I

A. D. 1475.

Venetians, may reasonably be supposed to have operated upon the sagacious and provident mind of Lorenzo de' Medici, to induce him to attempt the establishment of the chief ecclesiastical dignity in one of his own family. Nor is it improbable, that whilst he was actuated by this motive, he was impelled by another of no less efficacy. By the resentment of the papal see he had lost a much loved brother; and although he had himself escaped with his life from the dagger of the assassin, yet he had experienced, from the same cause, a series of calamities, from which he was only extricated by one of the most daring expedients recorded in history. To prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of a circumstance which had nearly destroyed the authority of his family, and to establish his children in such situations as might render them a mutual support and security to each other, in the high departments for which they were intended, were doubtless some of the motives which occasioned the destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the church, and produced those important effects upon the religion, the politics, and the taste of Europe; which are so conspicuous in the pontificate of Leo X.

That it was the intention of Lorenzo, from the

the birth of his son, to raise him eventually to the high dignity which he afterwards acquired, cannot be doubted; and the authority which he possessed in the affairs of Italy, enabled him to engage in this undertaking with the fairest prospects of success. Soon after he had attained the seventh year of his age, Giovanni de' Medici had received the tonsura, and was declared capable of ecclesiastical preferment. At this early period his father had applied to Louis XI. to confer upon him some church living. In the reply of the French king, which bears date the seventeenth day of February, 1482, he thus expresses himself:—"I understand from your letter of the thirtieth of January, the intentions you have formed respecting your son, which, if I had known them before the death of the cardinal of Rohan, I should have endeavoured to have accomplished; but I have no objection on the next vacancy of a benefice, to do for him whatever lies in my power." (a) Accordingly, Giovanni was, in the following year, appointed by the king, abbot of Fontedolce; and this was speedily followed by the investiture of the rich monastery of Passig-

CHAP.
I.

A. D. 1482.

Here receives the tonsura and is appointed Abbot of Fontedolce.

C 2

nano,

(a) *Fabronii, vita Laur. Med. in adnot. 298. et v. App. No. I.*

CHAP.
I

A. D. 1488.

And of Pas-
signabo.

1483.

nano, bestowed upon him by Sixtus IV. who, towards the close of his days, seemed desirous of obliterating from the minds of the Medici the remembrance of his former hostility. The particulars of this singular instance of ecclesiastical promotion, and of the additional honours bestowed upon Giovanni de' Medici, are given by Lorenzo himself, in his *Ricordi*, with great simplicity. "On the nineteenth day of May, 1483," says he, "we received intelligence, that the king of France had, of his own motion, presented to my son Giovanni, the abbey of Fonte-dolce. On the thirty-first, we heard from Rome, that the pope had confirmed the grant, and had rendered him capable of holding a benefice, he being now *seven* years of age. On the first day of June, Giovanni accompanied me from Poggio(a) to Florence, where he was confirmed by the bishop of Arezzo,(b) and received the tonsura; and from thenceforth was called *Massimo Giovanni*. The before-mentioned circumstances took place in the chapel of our family.

" The

(a) *Poggio a Cajano*, a seat of Lorenzo de' Medici.

(b) Gentile d' Urbino. v. *Life of Lor. de' Med.* vol. i. p. 72. 4to.

" The next morning he returned to Poggio.
 " On the eighth day of June, Jacopino, a
 " courier, arrived with advices from the king
 " of France, that he had conferred upon Mes-
 " sire Giovanni the archbishoprick of Aix;
 " in Provence; on which account a messen-
 " ger was dispatched, on the same evening,
 " to Rome, with letters from the king to the
 " pope and the cardinal di Macone. At the
 " same time dispatches were sent to count Gi-
 " rolamo, which were forwarded by Zenino
 " the courier, to Forli. On the eleventh,
 " Zennio returned from the count, with let-
 " ters to the pope and the cardinal S. Giorgio,
 " which were sent to Rome by the Milanese
 " post. On the same day, after mass, all the
 " children of the family received confirma-
 " tion, excepting Messire Giovanni. On the
 " fifteenth, at the sixth hour of the night,
 " an answer was received from Rome, that the
 " pope had some difficulty in giving the arch-
 " bishoprick to Messire Giovanni, on ac-
 " count of his youth. This answer was im-
 " mediately dispatched to the king of France.
 " On the twentieth, we received news from
 " Lionetto, *that the archbishop was not dead!*
 " On the first day of March, 1484, the abbot
 " of Passignano died, and a message was dis-
 " patched to Giovanni Vespucci, the Floren-
 " tine

CHAP. "tine ambassador at Rome, that he should
 I. "endeavour to prevail on the pope to give
 A. D. 1484. "the abbey to Messire Giovanni. On the
 "second, he took possession of it under the
 "authority of the state, by virtue of the re-
 "servation granted to him by Sixtus IV. and
 "which was afterwards confirmed by Innocent
 "VIII. when my son Piero went to pay him
 "obedience at Rome, on his elevation to the
 "pontificate."(a) It would not be difficult
 to declaim against the corruptions of the Ro-
 man see, and the absurdity of conferring ec-
 clesiastical preferments upon a child; but in
 the estimation of an impartial observer, it is a
 matter of little moment whether such pre-
 ferment be bestowed upon an infant who is
 unable, or an adult who is unwilling, to per-
 form the duties of his office, and who, in fact,
 at the time of his appointment, neither in-
 tends, nor is expected, ever to bestow upon
 them any share of his attention.

His father
 attempts to
 raise him to
 the rank of
 cardinal,

- The death of Sixtus IV. which happened on
 the thirteenth day of August, 1484, and the
 elevation to the pontificate of Giambattista
 Cibò, by the name of Innocent VIII. opened
 to

(a) The original is given in the Life of Lor. de' Medici,
Appendix, vol. ii. No. lxii.

to Lorenzo the prospect of speedy and more important advancement for his son. Of the numerous livings conferred on this young ecclesiastic, a particular account has been preserved ;(a) but the views of Lorenzo were directed towards still higher preferment. In the month of November he dispatched his eldest son Piero to Rome, accompanied by his uncle Giovanni Tornabuoni, with directions to promote as much as possible the interests of his brother Giovanni. In the instructions of Lorenzo to his envoys at Rome, the same object was strongly insisted on ; and such arguments

(a) It appears that Giovanni was at the same time a canon of the cathedral of Florence, of Fiesole, and of Arezzo ; rector of Carmignano, of Giogoli, of S. Casciano, of S. Giovanni in Valdarno, of S. Piero at Casale, and of S. Marcellino at Gacchiano ; prior of Monte Varchi ; precentor of S. Antonio at Florence ; proposto of Prato ; abbot of Monte Cassino, of S. Giovanni of Passignano, of S. Maria of Morimondo, of S. Martino, of Fonte-dolce in France, of S. Lorenzo of Coltibuono, of S. Salvatore at Vajano, of S. Bartolommeo at Anghiari, of S. Maria at Monte Piano, of S. Giuliano at Tours, of S. Giusto and S. Clement at Volterra, of S. Stefano of Bologna, of S. Michele in Arezzo, of Chiaravalle at Milan, of the diocese of Pino in Pittavia, and of the Casa Dei at Chiaramonte ; and in 1510 he became archbishop of Amalfi.—“ Bonè Deus,” exclaims Fabroni, “ quot in uno juvene cumulata sacerdotia !” *Fabr. vita Leon. x. in adnot. p. 243.*

CHAP.

I

A. D. 1486.

guments were constantly suggested, as were most likely to induce the pope to nominate Giovanni de' Medici, on the first opportunity, a member of the sacred college.

Marriage
of Frances-
co Cibo and
Maddalena
de' Medici.

1487.

In the mean time, Lorenzo thought it advisable to strengthen the friendly connexion which already subsisted between himself and the pope, by an union between their families. Before his adopting an ecclesiastical life, Innocent had several children, (a) the eldest of whom, Francesco Cibo, was married in the year 1487, to Maddalena, one of the daughters of Lorenzo, a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, and who lived to share the honours enjoyed by her family in the elevation of her brother. Besides the inducements to this measure, which the pope probably found in the increasing influence and authority of Lorenzo de' Medici, the near relationship which subsisted between Maddalena and the family of the Orsini, was a powerful motive with him

(a) Sanazzaro adverts to this circumstance in the following ironical lines.

“ Innocuo priscos æquum est debere quirites:

“ Progenie exhaustam restituit patriam.”

Epigram. lib. i. Ep. 37. Ed. Comino, 1731,

him to conclude the match. The event was such as the pope expected. The hostility between him and the Orsini speedily subsided; and he found on many subsequent occasions the high importance of their attachment and their services. (a)

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I

A. D. 1467.

As the advancement of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of the purple, was the fortunate event which led the way to his future elevation, and to the important consequences of that elevation to the christian world, it may not be uninteresting to trace the steps by which he acquired, so early in life, that high rank. This we are enabled to do with great accuracy, from the letters of Lorenzo and his confidential correspondents, the originals of which are preserved in the archives of Florence, and which exhibit such a degree of policy and assiduity on the part of that great man, as could scarcely fail of success.

From these it appears, that early in the year 1488, the pope, who had not before received any additional members into the college, had formed the intention of making a promotion of cardinals, and had communicated

1488.

Giovanni
de' Medici
appointed
cardinal.

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*. ix. 556.

CHAP.

I

A. D. 1488.

A. M. 12.

ted his purpose to Lorenzo, to whom he had also transmitted a list of names for his remarks and approbation. Such however was the inactivity of the pontiff, that he delayed from time to time the execution of his plan. From the age and infirmities of the pope, Lorenzo was fearful that this measure might be wholly frustrated; and as he had already formed the design of procuring the name of his son to be included among those of the new cardinals, he directed his envoy at Rome, Giovanni Lanfredini, to lose no time in prevailing upon the pope to carry his intentions into effect. "I observe," says he, in a letter which bears date the sixteenth day of June, 1488,(a) "what you mention respecting the " promotion of cardinals, to which I shall " briefly reply, that this event ought not to " be delayed longer than can possibly be a- " voided; for when his holiness has com- " pleted it, he will be another pope than he " has hitherto been—because he is yet a head " without limbs, surrounded by the creatures " of others; whereas he will then be sur- " rounded by his own. You will therefore " importune and exhort him to adopt this de- " termination as soon as possible, because " there

(a) MSS. Florent. v. App. No. II.

* there is danger in delay. * * As to the
 “ person nominated, I approve all those whose
 “ names are marked with a point ; they are
 “ the same as you before mentioned to me.
 “ It seems better to lay before him many, that
 “ he may have an opportunity of selection.
 “ He may also gratify me if he thinks proper.”

CHAP.

I

A. D. 1488.

A. 52. 12.

A few months afterwards, when a promotion of cardinals was positively determined on, Lorenzo became more strenuous in his exertions, and omitted no solicitations or persuasions which might obtain the favour, not only of the pontiff himself, but of the cardinals, whose concurrence was, it appears, indispensable.(a) In a letter to the pope, which bears date the first day of October, 1488, he most earnestly entreats, that if he is ever to receive any benefit from his holiness, it may

(a) In the articles or concessions signed by Innocent on his election, he had solemnly promised not to raise any person to the dignity of a cardinal who had not attained thirty years of age, that such promotion should never be made in secret, that he would not create more than one from his own family, that the number should not in the whole exceed twenty-four, and that he would not name any new ones till the college should be reduced to that number. *Burcard. Diarium. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi. t. 75.*

CHAP.
I

A. D. 1468.
A. Et. 18.

may be granted to him on that occasion, and requests his favour with no less fervency than he would from God the salvation of his soul.(a) With equal eagerness, and to this, or a similar effect, he addressed himself to all the members of the sacred college, whose interest he thought essential to his success.(b) Where he could not obtain an absolute promise of support, he considered it as of great importance to have prevented opposition. "You appear to me," says he to Lanfredini,(c) "to have done no little in removing the objections of ***. If you cannot induce him to proceed further, I wish you to thank him for this; and assure him, that knowing his inclination, I shall owe to him the same obligation for it, as I shall to others for their positive favours. At the same time, if it were possible, I should be highly gratified by his assistance." On this important occasion Lorenzo availed himself greatly

(a) *Fabr. in vita Leon. x. adnot. 245. et v. App. No. III.*

(b) Of these, his letter to Battista Zen, Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico, and nephew of Paul II. may serve as a sufficient specimen. *MSS. Florent. App. No. IV.*

(c) *MSS. Florent. App. No. V.*

CHAP.

I.

A. D. 1492.

A. E. 12.

greatly of the services of the cardinal Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, and of Rodrigo Borgia, then vice-chancellor of the holy see. "I reply," says he, addressing himself to Lanfredini,^(a) "in a letter under my own hand to the vice-chancellor and Monsig. Ascanio. The letter which they have written me, and the trouble which, as you inform me, Monsig. Ascanio takes every day on my behalf, merit other returns than words. I well know, both from your information and my own reflections, where my honour and my hopes would have remained, had they not been brought to life by him, and by those whom his relationship, friendship, and connexions, have obtained for me. The difficulty of this business, and his constant diligence and attention, render the benefits he has conferred on us so important, that they oblige not only me and M. Giovanni, but all those who belong to us; for I consider this favour in no other light than if I were raised from death to life." He expresses himself respecting the vice-chancellor with equal gratitude, desiring Lanfredini to assure him of the sense he entertains of his favours, which he

(a) MSS. Florent. App. No. VI.

CHAP.
I.

A. D. 1493.
A. Et. 18.

he cannot do himself, "because in effect
"he feels the obligation too strongly, and
"is more desirous of repaying it, when in
"his power, than he can possibly ex-
"press."

At this critical juncture, when every hour was pregnant with expectation, the hopes of Lorenzo were cruelly, though unintentionally, disappointed by Lanfredini, who, having a confidence of success, wished to be informed by Lorenzo in what manner he should announce the great event. To this end he inclosed to Lorenzo the form of a public letter, which it might be proper to send, on such an occasion, for the inspection of the citizens at large. Lorenzo replies, (a) "you will
"have time enough to send for the form in
"which it may be proper to announce the
"news. The method you took had however
"nearly given rise to a great error; for, as
"I read your inclosure before your letter,
"and there did not appear either the word;
"copy, or any other indication to that effect,
"I thought the information true, and was
"very near making it public. It seems to me
"of little consequence in what manner you
"communicate

(a) MSS. Florent. App. No. VII.

“ communicate it. The business is here so
 “ publicly spoken of, that it cannot be more
 “ so. You can therefore send no intelligence
 “ that is not expected by every one except
 “ myself; for, I know not how it is, I have
 “ never been able to confide in the event.”

CHAP.

L

A. D. 1492.

A. Ft. 16.

This however seems to have been the last agony which Lorenzo had to sustain in this long conflict, for, on the ninth day of the same month, he received the consolatory intelligence, that his son was elevated to the dignity of a cardinal, under the title of S. Maria in Domenica.(a) His feelings on this occasion are best expressed in his own words, addressed to his envoy at Rome.(b) “ Thanks
 “ be to God for the good news which I received yesterday at the ninth hour, respecting Messire Giovanni, and which appeared to me so much the greater, as it was the less expected; it seeming so far above my merits,
 “ and

(a) This event was communicated to him in a letter from the cardinal of Anjou, yet preserved in the Florentine Archives. *App. No. VIII.* It is also adverted to in the Latin verses of Philomusus, who has there, in a spirit of poetic prophecy, foretold the future honours of his patron, which he also lived himself to celebrate. *App. No. IX.*

(b) *Vide App. No. X.*

CHAP.

L

A. D. 1482.

A. St. 13.

“ and so difficult in itself, as to be esteemed
 “ impossible. I have reason to hold in remem-
 “ brance all those who have assisted me in
 “ this business, and shall leave a charge that
 “ they be not forgotten by those who may
 “ succeed me ; this being the greatest honour
 “ that ever our house experienced.” * * * “ I
 “ know not whether his holiness may be dis-
 “ pleased with the demonstrations of joy and
 “ festivity which have taken place in Florence
 “ on this occasion ; but I never saw a more ge-
 “ neral, or a more sincere exultation. Many
 “ other expressions of it would have occurred,
 “ but I did all in my power to prevent them,
 “ although I could not wholly succeed. I
 “ mention this, because the elevation of M.
 “ Giovanni was intended to have remained for
 “ the present a secret ; but you have made it
 “ so public in Rome, that we can scarcely in-
 “ cur blame in following your example ; nor
 “ have I been able to decline the congratula-
 “ tions of the city even to the lowest ranks.
 “ If what I have done be improper, I can on-
 “ ly say that it was impossible for me to pre-
 “ vent it, and that I greatly wish for instruc-
 “ tions how to conduct myself in future, as to
 “ what kind of life and manners M. Giovanni
 “ ought to observe, and what his dress and
 “ his attendants ought to be ; for I should be
 “ extremely

CHAP.
IA. D. 1468.
A. Æt. 18.

" extremely sorry to begin to repay this im-
 " mense debt by doing any thing contrary to
 " the intentions of his holiness. In the mean
 " time M. Giovanni remains with me in the
 " house, which from yesterday has been con-
 " tinually full of people. Advise me there-
 " fore what is to be done with him. Inform
 " me also, when you next write, what signa-
 " ture or seal he ought to use. In expediting
 " the bull, you will, I am sure, use all due
 " diligence, and will transmit it as soon as
 " possible for the satisfaction of our friends.
 " I send you herewith the measure of his
 " height, but in my eyes he appears to have
 " grown and changed since yesterday. I trust
 " in God you will receive due honour for
 " your exertions, and that his holiness will be
 " pleased with what he has done. I wish for
 " your opinion whether I should send my son
 " Piero, as I intended; because it seems to
 " me that a favour of this magnitude calls for
 " no less, than that I should pay a visit to
 " Rome myself."

Politiano, to whom the early education
 of Giovanni de' Medici had been intrusted,
 thought it also incumbent on himself, upon
 this occasion, to address to the pope a letter,
 in which he has exhibited the character

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I.

A. D. 1498.

A. Et. 12.

and early acquirements of his pupil in a very favourable light. Some allowance must however be made for the partiality of the tutor, and perhaps for the blandishments of the courtier; nor are we implicitly to believe, either that Louis XI. was the most pious of kings, or that Giovanni de' Medici, although from various circumstances his proficiency was beyond his years, had realized in himself,

“ That faultless monster which the world ne'er saw.”

*Agnolo Politiano to the supreme Pontiff,
Innocent VIII.(a)*

Letter
from Poli-
tiano to the
pope.

“ Although the mediocrity of my fortune,
“ and the insignificance of my station in life,
“ might justly deter me from addressing my-
“ self to your holiness, the vicar of God, and
“ chief of the human race; yet, amidst the
“ public exultation of this city, and the pe-
“ culiar satisfaction which I myself experi-
“ ence

(a) In the preceding year Politiano had inscribed to the pope his elegant translation of Herodian, in return for which Innocent had not only written to him, but had presented him with 200 pieces of gold. *Polit. Ep. lib. viii. ep. 1, 2, 3, 4.* Politiano had also addressed to the pope, soon after his elevation, a fine Sapphic ode. *Polit. op. Ald. 1498.*

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IA. D. 1498.
A. Et. 19.

“ence, I cannot refrain from expressing my
 “joy, and returning thanks to your holiness,
 “for having adopted into the sacred college,
 “Giovanni, the son of Lorenzo de’ Medici,
 “and the deserved favourite of his country;
 “and for having thereby conferred on this
 “flourishing community, and on so noble a
 “family, such high honour and dignity. Al-
 “low me also to congratulate your holiness,
 “that by this exertion of your own discrimi-
 “nating judgment, you have added to your
 “other great distinctions immortal honour.
 “Not to mention Lorenzo himself, whose fa-
 “vour you have perpetually secured by this
 “instance of your regard, where shall we find
 “a person more accomplished, in every re-
 “spect, than our young cardinal? I shall
 “neither indulge my own feelings, nor flatter
 “the choice of your holiness. What I shall
 “say is known to, and testified by all. He
 “has had the happiness to be so born and con-
 “stituted by nature, so educated and directed
 “as to his manners, so instituted and taught as
 “to his literary acquirements, that in his geni-
 “us he is inferior to no one, neither is he sur-
 “passed by any of those of his own time of
 “life in industry, by his preceptors in learn-
 “ing, or by mature age in gravity and seri-
 “ousness of deportment. The native good-

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I.

A. D. 1468.

A. Et. 13.

"ness of his disposition has been so industri-
 "ously cultivated by his father, that he has
 "never incurred censure by the slightest levi-
 "ty or impropriety of speech. In his whole
 "conduct and deportment there is nothing that
 "it is possible to blame. At his early period
 "of life he has attained such a maturity, that
 "the aged recognize in him the genius of the
 "venerable Cosmo, whilst we, who are youn-
 "ger, acknowledge in him the very spirit of
 "his father. His disposition to religion and
 "piety he may be said to have imbibed with the
 "milk that nourished him. From his cradle
 "he has meditated on the sacred offices of the
 "church, to which he was destined by his
 "provident father, even before his birth ; and
 "the hopes entertained of him have been
 "encouraged by many favourable presages.
 "Such was the specimen which he had given,
 "whilst yet a child, of his virtues and talents,
 "that the reputation of them induced that
 "most wise and most pious king, Louis XI.
 "to judge him not unworthy of the high dig-
 "nity of an archbishop. You have there-
 "fore the king as your precursor in the fa-
 "vours you have bestowed. He began the
 "web which your holiness has thought proper
 "to finish. * * * * It is not requisite that
 "you should number his years. He has at-
 "tained

"tained his virtues before his time. Doubt
 "not but he will fill the august purple. He
 "will not faint under the weight of the hat,
 "nor be dazzled by the splendor that sur-
 "rounds him. You will find in him a per-
 "son not unqualified for such a senate, not
 "unequal to such a burthen. Already he
 "appears in full majesty, and seems to ex-
 "ceed his usual stature."(a) * * * *

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L

A. D. 1492.

A. Et. 19.

Whatever credit the foregoing letter may confer on the rhetorical talents of Politiano, it must be confessed that it is not calculated to increase our favourable opinion of his judgment; as in attempting with too much earnestness to convince the pope of the rectitude of his conduct, it betrays a suspicion that such conduct stands in need of justification. Lorenzo himself appears to have regarded this laboured production with no great approbation. In one of his letters to Lanfredini he thus adverts to it.(b) "Messire Agnolo da Monte-Pulciano writes an epistle to his holiness, which is sent herewith, superscribed by Ser Piero, returning him
 " thanks,

(a) *Polit. Ep. lib. viii. Ep. 5.*

(b) *MSS. Florent. App. No. XI.*

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I.

A. D. 1469.

A. E. 13.

" thanks, &c. It is pretty long—He would
 " have been glad, had it been received in
 " time, to have had it read in the consistory,
 " and not merely to his holiness. I think we
 " should proceed cautiously in delivering it
 " to the pope, to say nothing of the rest. I
 " submit it however, to your judgment."
 As no answer to this letter appears in the
 works of Politiano, it is not improbable that
 it was suppressed, in consequence of these
 cautionary and well founded remarks.(a)

1469.

Education
 of Giovan-
 ni de' Me-
 dici.

It must however be acknowledged, that if
 Lorenzo de' Medici was indefatigable in ob-
 taining for his son the honours and emolu-
 ments of ecclesiastical preferment, he dis-
 played an equal degree of assiduity in ren-
 dering him worthy of them. The early do-
 cility and seriousness of Giovanni, the pro-
 ficiency which he had made in his studies,
 and the distinctions with which he had been
 honoured,

(a) The public thanks of the government of Florence
 were also transmitted to the pope, for the honour conferred
 on that city by the adoption of the cardinal de' Medici into
 the sacred college. The letter on this occasion was written
 by Bartolommeo Scala, then chancellor of the republic, and
 is given in the *Collectio veterum aliquot monumentorum*, of
 Bandini.—*Arezzo*, 1752.

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I

A. D. 1499.

A. M. 14.

honoured, entitled him to rank as an associate in those meetings of men of genius and learning, which continually took place in the palace of the Medici. Among the professors of the Platonic philosophy, the chief place was held by Marsilio Ficino; the authority of Aristotle was supported by his countryman and warm admirer, Joannes Argyropylus; in classical and polite literature, Politiano had revived the age of Augustus; (a) whilst Giovanni Pico of Mirandula, united in himself the various kinds of knowledge which were allotted to others only in distinct portions. Conversant as Giovanni de' Medici was, with these men, and residing under the eye of his father, to whom every production of literature and of art was submitted as to an infallible judge, it was impossible that the seeds of knowledge and of taste, if indeed they existed, should not be early developed in his mind.

(a) "Nimirum ad optimum indolem optima accessit institutio, et felicissimi ingenii tui solo, longe bellissimus obtigit cultor, politissimus ille *Politianus*; ejus opera non spinosis istis ac rixosis literis, sed veris illis, nec sine causâ bonis appellatis, ac mansuetioribus, ut vocant, musis es initiatus, &c." *Erasm. Ep. lib. ii. Ep. 1. ad. Leon. x.* To the instances of confidence and friendship between Lorenzo de' Medici and Politiano, I shall add a letter from the latter, not before published. *App. No. XII.*

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A. Et. 14.

mind. Hence it is probable that the business of education was to him, as indeed it ought to be to every young person, the highest amusement and gratification; and that he never experienced those restraints and severities which create a disgust to learning, instead of promoting it. Amidst the extensive collections of pictures, sculptures, medals, and other specimens of ancient and modern art, acquired by the wealth and long continued attention of his ancestors, he first imbibed that relish for productions of this nature, and that discriminating judgment of their merits, which rendered him, in his future life, no less the arbiter of the public taste in works of art, than he was of the public creed in matters of religion.

The youthful mind of Giovanni de' Medici was not, however, wholly left to the chance of promiscuous cultivation. Besides the assistance of Politiano, who had the chief direction of his studies, he is said to have received instructions in the Greek language from Demetrius Chalcondyles and Petrus Ægineta, (a) both of whom were Greeks by birth.

(a) *Mench. vita Polit. p. 98. Lettres de Langius. ap. Bayle, Dict. Art. Leo. x.* Many other persons are mentioned

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I.A. D. 1489.
A. Et. 14.Bernardo
Dovizi.

birth. His education was also promoted by Bernardo Michelozzi, who was one of the private secretaries of his father, and eminently skilled both in ancient and modern literature ;(a) but his principal director in his riper studies, was Bernardo Dovizi, better known by the name of Bernardo da Bibbiena. This elegant scholar and indefatigable statesman, was born of a respectable family at Bibbiena, in the year 1470, and was sent at the age of nine years to pursue his studies in Florence. His family connexions introduced him into the house of the Medici, and such was the assiduity with which he availed himself of the opportunities of instruction there afforded him, that at the age of seventeen, he had attained a great facility of Latin composition, and was soon afterwards selected by Lorenzo, as one of his private secretaries. When the honours of the church were bestowed on Giovanni de' Medici, the principal care of his pecuniary concerns was intrusted to Bernardo ; in the execution of which employment he rendered his patron such important

mentioned by different authors as having been his instructors, but perhaps without sufficient foundation.

(a) *Pinvinii, in vita Leon. x.*

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tant services, and conducted himself with so much vigilance and integrity, that some have not hesitated to ascribe to him, in a considerable degree, the future eminence of his pupil. Notwithstanding the serious occupations in which Bernardo was engaged, in his temper and manners he was affable, and even facetious, as appears by the representation given of him by Castiglione, in his *Libro del Cortegiano*, in which he is introduced as one of the interlocutors. Nor did he neglect his literary studies, of which he gave a sufficient proof in his celebrated comedy, *La Calandra*, which although not, as some have asserted, the earliest comedy which modern times have produced, deservedly obtained great reputation for its author, and merits, even at this day, no small share of approbation. The high rank which Bernardo obtained in the church, and the distinguished part which he acted in the political transactions of the times, will frequently present him to our notice. Of his character and talents, different opinions have indeed been entertained, but his title to eminent merit must be admitted, whilst he claims it under the sanction of Ariosto.(a)

But

(a) *Orland. Furioso. Cant. xxvi. st. 48.*

But whilst it may be presumed, that the subsequent honours and success of Giovanni de' Medici are to be attributed in a great degree to his early education, and to the advantages which he possessed under his paternal roof, it must be allowed, that those defects in his ecclesiastical character, which were afterwards so apparent, were probably derived from the same source. The associates of Lorenzo de' Medici were much better acquainted with the writings of the poets, and the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, than with the dogmas of the Christian faith. Of the followers of Plato, Lorenzo was at this time considered as the chief. He had himself arranged and methodized a system of theology which inculcates opinions very different from those of the Romish church, and in a forcible manner, points out the object of supreme adoration as one and indivisible.^(a) Hence it is not unlikely, that the young cardinal was induced to regard with less reverence those doctrinal

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A. D. 1489.
A. Et. 16.

Defects in
the character
of Gio-
vanni de'
Medici.

(a) *V. L'Altercazione, Capitolo.* This, together with other poems of Lorenzo de' Medici and several of his contemporaries, has been given to the public by Messrs. Nardini and Buonaiuti, in an elegant volume under the title of "POESIE DEL MAG. LORENZO DE' MEDICI, E DI ALTRI SUOI AMICI E CONTEMPORANEI." Londra, 1801. 4to.

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I.A. D. 1489.
A. Et. 14.

doctrinal points of the established creed, the belief of which is considered as indispensable to the clerical character; and hence he might have acquired such ideas of the Supreme Being, and of the duties of his intelligent creatures, as in counteracting the spirit of bigotry, rendered him liable to the imputation of indifference in matters of religion. A rigid economy in his household was certainly not one of the first qualifications of Lorenzo, and the example of the father might perhaps counteract his precepts in the estimation of the son; whose liberality in future life, too often carried to profusion, reduced him to the necessity of adopting those measures for the supplying his exigences, which gave rise to consequences of the utmost importance to the Christian world. From the splendid exhibitions which were frequently displayed in the city of Florence, he probably derived that relish for similar entertainments which he is supposed to have carried, during his pontificate, to an indecorous, if not to a culpable excess; whilst the freedom and indecency of the songs with which the spectacles of Florence were accompanied, (a)

of

(a) The *Canti Carnascialeschi*, and *Canzone a ballo*,
of

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A. D. 1409.

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of many of which Lorenzo was himself the author, could scarcely have failed to banish at intervals that gravity of carriage which the young cardinal was directed to support, and to sow those seeds of dissipation, which afterwards met with a more suitable climate in the fervid atmosphere of Rome.

Repairs to
the academy
at Pisa.

The nomination of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of cardinal, was accompanied by a condition that he should not assume the insignia of his rank, or be received as a member of the college for the space of three years. This restriction was considered by Lorenzo as very unfavourable to his views. His remonstrances were however ineffectual; and as the pontiff had expressed his wishes, that during this probationary interval, Giovanni should pursue the studies of theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, the young cardinal left Florence, and repaired to Pisa, where by the exertions of Lorenzo, the academy had lately been re-established with great splendour. At this place he had the advantage of receiving instructions from Filippo Decio and Bartolommeo Sozzini, the most celebrated

of which some account is given in the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici. i. 301, 307. 4to. ed.

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IA. D. 1469.
A. Et. 14.

His father
endeavours
to shorten
his proba-
tion.

celebrated professors of civil and pontifical law in Italy. (a) Whilst a resident in Florence, he had frequently visited the monastery of Camaldoli, where he formed an intimacy with Pietro Delfinio, and Paullo Justiniano; the former of whom he regarded as his model and instructor, the latter as a second parent. The advantages which he received in his youth from this society, were not forgotten in his riper years, when he conferred many favours on the monastery, acknowledging with great satisfaction, that "he had not only spent much of his time, but "had almost received his education there." (b)

Whilst Giovanni de' Medici, by a constant intercourse with men of rank, talents, and learning, was thus acquiring a fund of information, and a seriousness of deportment much beyond his years, his father was indefatigable in his endeavours to prevail on the pope to shorten the period of his probation. Piero Alamanni, one of the Florentine envoys at Rome, in

(a) *Fabr. vita Leon. x. p. 10.*

(b) " ——— Adolescentiæ suæ tempore, non solum versatus, sed pene educatus fuerit." *Fabr. in vita Leon. x. p. 10.*

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A. D. 1490.

A. Æt. 15.

in a letter which bears date the eighth day of January, 1490,(a) thus addresses Lorenzo. " I made my acknowledgments to his holiness for the favours received from him in the person of M. Giovanni, giving him to understand how agreeable they were to all the citizens of Florence, and how highly they esteemed the obligation. I then ventured, in terms of the utmost respect and civility, to touch upon that part of the business, the accomplishment of which is so earnestly desired, the public assumption of M. Giovanni; alledging all the reasons which you suggested to me, but at the same time assuring him that the city of Florence, and you in particular, would be perfectly satisfied with his determination. In reply he spoke at considerable length; in the first place observing, that the mode which he had prescribed was intended to answer the best purposes, as he had before explained by means of Pier Filippo (Pandolfini). He then entered on the commendation of M. Giovanni, and spoke of him as if he had been his own son, observing, that he understood that he had conducted himself with great propriety at Pisa, and had obtained

(a) Fabr. in vita Laur. Med. in adnot. p. 301.

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A. D. 1490.

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“ tained the superiority in some disputation,
 “ which seemed to give his holiness great
 “ pleasure. At last he expressed himself
 “ thus: *Leave the fortunes of M. Giovanni to*
 “ *me, for I consider him as my own son, and*
 “ *shall perhaps make his promotion public when*
 “ *you least expect it; for it is my intention to*
 “ *do much more for his interest than I shall*
 “ *now express.*” In order to promote this bu-
 siness, and to try the temper of the cardinals,
 Lorenzo dispatched to Rome his kinsman Ri-
 naldo Orsini, archbishop of Florence, but
 he derived no advantage from this measure;
 and indeed from the letters of the good pre-
 late on this subject, it appears, that he was
 but ill qualified for the intrigues of a court.(a)
 The motives which induced Innocent to per-
 sever in the terms which he had prescribed,
 are more fully disclosed in a letter from Pan-
 dolfini to Lorenzo, dated the nineteenth day
 of October, 1490;(b) from which it appears,
 that the pope could not admit Giovanni into
 the college of cardinals without either giving
 offence to others who had not been received,

or

(a) MSS. Florent. App. No. XIII.

(b) Fabr. vita Laur. in adnot. p. 302, et v. App. No. XII.

or receiving the whole, which he did not think proper to do; as he considered the state of suspense in which the college was kept, as favourable to his views and interests.

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During the early years of Giovanni de' Medici, he had a constant companion and fellow student in his cousin Giulio, the natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, who had been assassinated in the horrid conspiracy of the Pazzi.(a) The disposition of Giulio leading him when young to adopt a military life, he had been early enrolled among the knights of Jerusalem; and as this profession united the characters of the soldier and the priest, he was soon afterwards, at the solicitation of Lorenzo de' Medici, endowed by Ferdinand, king of Naples, with the rich and noble priory

Giulio de'
Medici
prior of Ca-
pua.

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E

of

(a) Ammirato (*Opusc.* iii. 106.) places the birth of Giulio one month, and Macchiavelli, (*Stor. Fior. lib.* viii.) several months, after the death of his father. It appears, however, from yet more authentic documents, that he was born a year before that event, viz. in 1477; and was consequently two years younger than his cousin Giovanni de' Medici. *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, v. i. 196. 4to. ed. Panvinius, the continuator of Platina, in his life of Clement VII. has followed, in this respect, the erroneous accounts of the Italian historians.

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I.A. D. 1490.
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of Capua.(a) Grave in his deportment, steady in his family attachments, and vigilant in business, Giulio devoted himself in a particular manner to the fortunes of Giovanni, and became his chief attendant and adviser throughout all the vicissitudes of his early life. On the elevation of Giovanni to the pontificate, the services of Giulio, who was soon afterwards raised to the rank of cardinal, became yet more important; and he is, with great reason, supposed not only to have carried into execution, but to have suggested, many of the political measures adopted by Leo, and to have corrected the levity and prodigality of the pope by his own austerity, prudence, and regularity. It did not however appear, on the subsequent elevation of Giulio to the pontificate by the name of Clement VII. that he possessed in so eminent a degree those qualities for which the world had given him credit; and, perhaps, the genius and talents of Leo had contributed no less towards establishing the reputation of Giulio, than the industry and vigilance of the latter had concurred in giving credit to the administration of Leo X.

The

(a) *Ammirato Opusc. v. iii. 102. MSS. Florent. App. No. XV.*

The long expected day at length arrived, which was to confirm to Giovanni de' Medici his high dignity, and to admit him among the princes of the christian church. The ceremonial of the investiture was intrusted to Matteo Bosso, superior of the monastery at Fiesole, whose probity and learning had recommended him to the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici, and who has thus recorded the particulars of the investiture(a) which took place on the ninth day of March, 1492. "On the evening of
 "the preceding day, Giovanni ascended the
 "hill of Fiesole to the monastery, simply clad,
 "and with few companions. In the morning,
 "being Sunday, Giovanni Pico of Mirandula,
 "and Jacopo Salviati, who had married Lucretia, one of the daughters of Lorenzo, arrived at the monastery with a notary, and
 "accompanied the young cardinal to the celebration of mass, where he took the holy
 "sacrament with great devotion and humility.
 "The superior then bestowed his benediction
 "on the sacred vestments, and receiving the
 "bull or brief of the pope, declared that the
 "time therein limited for the reception of the

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I.A. D. 1492.
A. Et. 12.Giovanni
de' Medici
receives the
insignia of
his rank.

1492.

R 2

" cardinal

(a) The original is given from the *Recuperationes Fesulanae* of Matteo Bosso—in App. to the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici. vol. ii. No. 65.

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IA. D. 1492.
A. Et. 17.

“ cardinal was expired; expressing at the
 “ same time his most fervent vows for the ho-
 “ nour of the church, and the welfare of the
 “ cardinal, his father, and his country. He
 “ then invested him with the *pallium*, or
 “ mantle, to which he added the *biretum*, or
 “ cap, usually worn by cardinals, and the
 “ *galerus*, or hat, the distinctive emblem of
 “ their dignity, accompanying each with ap-
 “ propriate exhortations, that he would use
 “ them to the glory of God and his own sal-
 “ vation; after which the friars of the monas-
 “ tery chaunted at the altar the hymn, *Veni*
 “ *Creator.*” The cardinal having thus re-
 ceived a portion of the apostolic powers, im-
 mediately tried their efficacy, by bestowing
 an indulgence on all those who had attended at
 the ceremony, and on all who should, on the
 anniversary of that day, visit the altar at Fiesole.
 The company retired to a repast; after which,
 Piero de’ Medici, the elder brother of the car-
 dinal, arrived from the city, accompanied by
 a party of select friends, and mounted on a
 horse of extraordinary size and spirit, capar-
 isoned with gold. In the mean time an im-
 mense multitude, as well on horseback as on
 foot, had proceeded from the gate of S. Gallo
 towards Fiesole; but having received direc-
 tions to stop at the bridge on the Mugnone,
 they

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A. M. 12.

they were there met by the cardinal, who was conducted by the prelates and chief magistrates of the city towards the palace of the Medici. On his arrival at the church of the *Annunciata*, he descended from his mule, and paid his devotions at the altar. In passing the church of the *Reparata*, he performed the same ceremony, and proceeded from thence to his paternal roof. The crowds of spectators, the acclamations, illuminations, and fire-works, are all introduced by the good abbot into his faithful picture; and the rejoicings on this event may be supposed to be similar to those which celebrate, with equal delight, a royal marriage, a blood-stained victory, or a long-wished for peace.

On the twelfth day of March, 1492, the cardinal de' Medici quitted Florence, for the purpose of paying his respects to the pope, and establishing his future residence at Rome. He was accompanied to the distance of two miles from the city by a great number of the principal inhabitants, and on the evening of the same day he arrived at his abbey of Pasignano, where he took up his abode for the night. His retinue remained at the neighbouring town of Poggibonzo, whence they proceeded the next morning, before the cardinal,

Quits Florence to reside at Rome.

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A. D. 1492.

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dinal, to Siena. The inhabitants of that place being thus apprized of his approach, sent a deputation to attend him into the city, where, for several days, he experienced every possible mark of attention and respect; which he returned with a degree of urbanity and kindness that gained him the esteem and affection of all who saw him. From Siena he proceeded by easy stages towards Rome, having on his way been entertained by his relations of the Orsini family. At Viterbo he was met by his brother-in-law Francesco Cibò, son to the pope, who with many attendants, had waited his approach, and accompanied him to Rome, where he arrived on the twenty-second day of March, in the midst of a most abundant shower of rain. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, he was met by many persons of rank, who attended him to the monastery of *S. Maria in Popolo*, where he reposed the first night after his arrival. On the following morning, all the cardinals then in Rome came to visit him, and immediately led him to the pope, who received him in full consistory, and gave him the holy kiss; after which he was greeted with a similar mark of respect from each of the cardinals, and his attendants were permitted to kiss the feet of the pope. On his return to his residence,

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A. Et. 17.

dence; the rain still continued to pour down in copious torrents, and as the luxurious convenience of a modern chariot was then unknown, the cardinal and his numerous attendants, were almost overwhelmed in their peregrinations. In the performance of these ceremonies, we are assured by one of his countrymen,^(a) that he surpassed the expectations of the spectators; and that in his person and stature, no less than by the decorum of his behaviour, and the propriety of his language, he displayed the gravity of a man, and supported the dignity of a prelate. Such are the authentic particulars of the first entry into Rome, of one who was destined to revive her ancient splendour. The dignity of history may perhaps reject the unimportant narrative of processions and ceremonials; but the character of an individual is often strongly marked by his conduct on such occasions; and the interest which that conduct generally excites, is a sufficient proof, that it is considered by the public as no improbable indication of his future life and fortunes.

Notwithstanding the numerous avocations
which

(a) *V. Appendix, No. XVI.*

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which engaged the cardinal on his arrival at Rome, he did not fail to communicate to his father every particular which occurred.(a) In reply, Lorenzo transmitted to him that excellent and affectionate letter of paternal advice, which may with confidence be referred to as a proof of the great talents, and uncommon sagacity of its author; and which, as having been written only a very short time before his death, has been, not inelegantly, compared to the last musical accents of the dying swan.(b)

Cardinals
of emi-
nence in
the col-
lege.

At the time when Giovanni de' Medici took his seat in the sacred college, it was filled by many men of acknowledged abilities, but of great diversity of character; several of whom afterwards acted an important part in the affairs of Europe. The eldest member of the

(a) One of these letters, preserved in the Florentine Archives, and not before printed, will be found in the Appendix, No. XVII. As this is probably the earliest production now extant of its illustrious author, and was written in an unpremeditated manner, on his first entrance into public life, it cannot be perused, unadorned as it is, without peculiar interest.

(b) *Fabr. in vita Laur. Med. App. p. 312*; and for this letter, *v. Life of Lor. de' Med. ii. 146.*

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the college was Roderigo Borgia, who had enjoyed upwards of thirty-five years the dignity of the purple, to which he had, for a long time past, added that of vice-chancellor of the holy see. He was descended from the Lenzuoli, a respectable family of the city of Valencia in Spain, but on the elevation to the pontificate of his maternal uncle, Alfonso Borgia, by the name of Calixtus III. he was called to Rome, where, changing his name of Lenzuoli to that of Borgia, he was first appointed archbishop of Valencia, and afterwards cardinal of S. Nicolo, being then only twenty-five years of age. The private life of Roderigo had been a perpetual disgrace to his ecclesiastical functions. In adhering to his vow of celibacy, he had alleviated its severity by an intercourse with a Roman lady of the name of Vanozza, who, by the beauty of her person, and the attractions of her manners, had long possessed the chief place in his affections. His attachment to her appears however to have been sincere and uniform, and although his connexion was necessarily disavowed, he regarded her as a legitimate wife. By her he had several children, to whose education and advancement he paid great attention. Notwithstanding the irregularity of his private life, his acquaintance with

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with the civil law, and with the politics of the times, had procured him the honour of many important embassies, on one of which he had been deputed by the pope, to accommodate the differences that had arisen between the kings of Portugal and of Aragon, in respect of their claims on the crown of Castile. Roderigo was not, however, formed by nature for a mediator, and returning without having effected the object of his mission, he had nearly perished by shipwreck in the vicinity of Pisa, one of the vessels which accompanied him having been wholly lost in a violent storm, with one hundred and eighty persons on board, among whom were three bishops, and many other men of rank and learning. If the character of Roderigo, who afterwards became supreme pontiff by the name of Alexander VI. is to be taken on the implicit credit of contemporary historians, this calamity was not greatly alleviated by the escape of the cardinal; on the contrary, had he shared the same fate, his destruction would have been a sufficient compensation to the world for the loss of all the rest.

Another member of the college was Francesco Piccolomini, the nephew of Pius II. the celebrated Æneas Sylvius. He had long enjoyed

joyed his dignity, having been created cardinal by his uncle in the year 1460, when only seventeen years of age. The purity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and his zeal in discharging the duties of his station, formed a striking contrast to the profligacy and effrontery of Roderigo Borgia, and occasioned him to be chosen by his colleagues to heal those wounds which Roderigo had, in the course of his pontificate, inflicted on the christian world; but the short space of time in which he administered the affairs of the church, under the name of Pius III. frustrated the hopes which had been formed on his elevation. Among those who had been nominated by Sixtus IV. was Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of *St. Pietro in Vincola*. The ambition and military spirit of this prelate seemed to have marked him out for a different employment; but in those days the crozier and the sword were not incompatible, and Giuliano made his way by the latter, rather than the former, to the supreme dignity which he afterwards enjoyed, by the name of Julius II. By the same nomination there still sat in the college, Raffaele Riario, cardinal of *S. Giorgio*, who, under the directions of his great uncle Sixtus IV. had acted a principal part in the bloody conspiracy of the Pazzi. In assuming his seat
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among the fathers of the christian church, Giovanni de' Medici therefore, found himself associated with one who had assisted in the murder of his uncle, and attempted the life of his father; but the youth and inexperience of Riario, had alleviated the enormity of a crime perpetrated under the sanction of the supreme pontiff, and subsequent transactions had occurred between the families of the pope and of the Medici, which might have obliterated the remembrance of this event, had not the pallid countenance of the cardinal occasionally recalled it to mind.(a) Among those of royal or of noble birth, the principal rank, after the death of Giovanni d' Aragona, son of Ferdinand king of Naples, was due to Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, who supported the dignity of his office with great splendor. The families of the Orsini and the Colonna, generally maintained a powerful interest in the consistory, and the noble family of the Caraffa, which has long ranked as one of the principal in the kingdom of Naples, had also a representative in the person of Oliviero Caraffa, who had been nominated by Paul II. and was one of the most respectable members in the college.

Among

(a) *V. Life of Lor. de' Med. i. 189.*

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Zizim, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, delivered into the hands of the pope.

Among the cardinals who had been nominated by Innocent VIII. at the same time with Giovanni de' Medici, was Pierre d'Aubusson, grand master of Rhodes, upon whom that honour had been conferred as a reward for having surrendered into the custody of the pope, an illustrious Turkish fugitive, who had been compelled, by the rage of fraternal resentment, to seek for safety among those of a different nation and a different faith. On the death of Mahomet, in the year 1482, that ferocious conqueror left his extensive dominions to his two sons, Bajazet and Zizim. Bajazet was tempted to avail himself of the powerful plea of primogeniture, to the exclusion of his brother, who had endeavoured by personal merit, to compensate for the pretensions of seniority. The principal leaders of the Turkish troops were divided in their attachments to the two brothers, and perhaps that circumstance, rather than the courage or conduct of the duke of Calabria, delivered Italy from the devastation with which it was threatened by the Turks, when they had possessed themselves of the city of Otranto. After a struggle of some years and several bloody engagements, victory declared for the elder brother, and Zizim, to avoid the bow-string, threw himself into the hands of the grand master

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master of Rhodes, whilst his wife and children sought a refuge in Egypt, under the protection of the Sultan. The reception which he met with was highly honourable both to himself and his protector; but the grand master, conceiving that his longer continuance at Rhodes might draw down upon the island the whole power of the Turkish state, sent him to France, whence he was soon afterwards transferred to Rome, into which city he made his public entry on the thirteenth day of March, 1489. Considerations of policy, if not of humanity, induced Innocent to receive him with great kindness; and Francesco Cibò, with a long train of nobility, was deputed to attend him into the city. On his being admitted to an audience of the pope, in full consistory, he deranged the solemnity of the ceremony; for notwithstanding the instructions which he had received, to bend his knees, and kiss the feet of his holiness, he marched firmly up to him, and applied that mark of respect to his shoulder. A chamber in the apostolic palace was allotted for his residence, and a guard appointed, which, under the pretext of doing him honour, was directed to prevent his escape. In this situation an attempt was made to destroy the Turkish prince, by Cristoforo Castagno, a nobleman
of

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of the *Marca d'Ancona*, who having entered into stipulations for an immense reward, by the terms of which, among other advantages, he was to be invested with the government of the island of Negroponte, repaired to Rome, with the design of executing his treacherous purpose. Some suspicions, however, arose; and it being discovered that he had recently returned from Constantinople, he was apprehended by order of the pope, and confessed, upon the rack, his atrocious intentions. Those apprehensions which Bajazet could not extinguish whilst his brother was living, he endeavoured to alleviate by prevailing on the pope to retain him in secure custody, for which he repaid him by the bribery of Christian relicks, and the more substantial present of considerable sums of money; and Zizim accordingly remained a prisoner at Rome until the ensuing pontificate of Alexander VI. (a)

Notwithstanding

(a) On this occasion the Turkish emperor transmitted to the pope the head of the spear which pierced the side of Jesus Christ. This relick, according to an ancient chronicle, had been preserved at Constantinople before the capture of that place by the Turks, where it had been concealed by a citizen, from whom it was purchased by the emperor for 70,000 ducats. Some doubts arose among the members of the

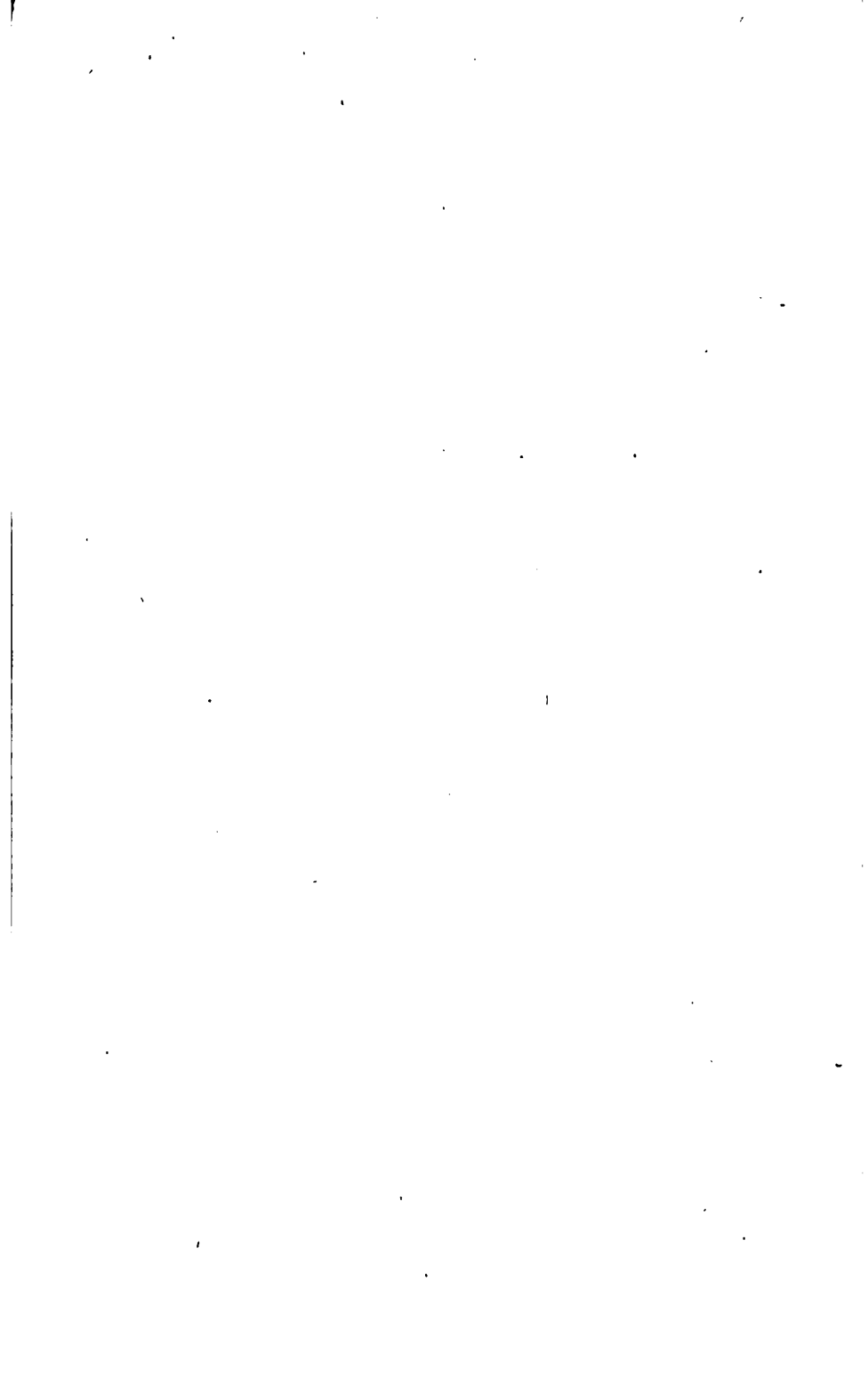
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public calamities.

Notwithstanding the tranquillity which Italy had for some time enjoyed, the rumours of approaching calamities were not unfrequent. Those alarms and denunciations which have generally preceded great public commotions; although they may not arise from any supernatural interposition, are not always to be wholly disregarded. On the approach of the storm, the cattle, by a native instinct, retire to shelter; and the human mind may experience a secret dread, resulting from a concurrence of circumstances, which although not amounting to demonstration, may afford strong conviction

the college, as to the authenticity of this relick, it being contended by some, that the true spear was at Nuremberg, and by others, that it was preserved in the *Sainte Chapelle* at Paris; but Innocent disregarded their objections, and directed that the present should be received in a solemn procession, in which it was carried by the pope himself, on the day of Ascension, inclosed in a case of crystal. He was, however, so fatigued with the labour, and so oppressed by the tumults of the crowd, that he was unable to finish the ceremony. *Burchard. Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi.* i. 94. The rage for collecting relicks, seems at this period to have been at its height. In the official letters of Bartolommeo Scala, as chancellor of the Florentine Republic, we find one addressed to the grand Turk, requesting his interference with the inhabitants of Ragusa, to induce them to deliver up the *left arm of St. John the Baptist*, which they had intercepted in its way to Florence. *Band. Monument.* p. 17.

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conviction of approaching evils, to a person of a warm and enthusiastic temperament. Those impressions which he is ready to impart, the public is prepared to receive; and the very credulity of mankind is itself a proof of impending danger. Whilst the city of Florence trembled at the bold and terrific harangues of Savonarola, who was at this time rising to the height of his fatal popularity, a stranger is said to have made his appearance at Rome, who in the habit of a mendicant, and with the appearance of an idiot, ran through the streets, bearing a crucifix, and foretelling, in a strain of forcible eloquence, the disasters that were shortly to ensue; particularly to Florence, Venice, and Milan. With a precision, however, which a prudent prognosticator should always avoid, he ventured to fix the exact time when these disorders were to commence; and had the still greater folly to add, that an angelic shepherd would shortly appear, who would collect the scattered flock of true believers into the heavenly fold. But the prescribed period having elapsed, the predictions of the enthusiast were disregarded; and he had the good fortune to sink into his original obscurity, without having experienced that fate, which has generally attended alike the prophets and pseudo-prophets of all ages and all nations.



CHAP. II.

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STATE of literature in Rome—POMPONIUS LÆTUS—CALLIMACHUS EXPERIENS—PAOLO CORTESE—SERAFINO D'AQUILA—State of literature in other parts of Italy—Neapolitan academy—GIOVANNI PONTANO—His Latin poetry compared with that of Politiano—GIACOPO SANAZZARO—His Arcadia—And other writings—Enmity between the Neapolitan and Florentine scholars—CARITEO—Other members of the Neapolitan academy—State of literature in Ferrara—The two STROZZI—BOIARDO—ARIOSTO—FRANCESCO CIEGO—NICOLO LELIO COSMICO—GUIDUBALDO DA MONTEFELTRI duke of Urbino—FRANCESCO GONZAGA Marquis of Mantua—BATTISTA MANTUANO—LODOVICO SFORZA encourages men of talents—LIONARDO DA VINCI—Eminent scholars at the court of Milan—The BENTIVOGLI of Bologna—CODRUS URCEUS—PETRUS CRINITUS—ALDO MANUZIO, his acquaintance with Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, and Pico of Mirandula—His motives for undertaking to print and publish the works of the ancients—Establishes his press at Venice and founds an academy there—Progress and success of his undertaking.



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ALTHOUGH many causes concurred to render *the City*, as Rome was then emphatically called, the chief place in Italy, yet it was not at this time distinguished by the number or proficiency of those scholars whom it produced or patronised. An attempt had been made in the pontificate of Paul II. to establish an academy, or society for the research of antiquities, but the jealousy of that haughty and ignorant priest had defeated its object, and consigned the wretched scholars to the dungeon or the rack. Among those who had survived his barbarity was Julius Pomponius Lætus, who by his various writings and indefatigable

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State of Literature in Rome.

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Pomponius
Lætus.Callima-
chus Expe-
riens.

indefatigable labours, had at this early period been of no inconsiderable service to the cause of literature. To the testamentary kindness of Bartolommeo Platina, who had been his companion in his studies, and his fellow-sufferer in his misfortunes, and who died in the year 1481, Pomponius was indebted for a commodious and handsome residence in Rome, surrounded with pleasant gardens and plantations of laurel, where he yet lived at an advanced age, devoted to the society of his literary friends.^(a) His associate Filippo Buonaccorsi, better known by his academical name *Callimachus Experiens*, had quitted Italy under the impressions of terror, excited by the cruelty of Paul, and sought a refuge in Poland;

(a) Pomponius derived his origin from Calabria, and is supposed to have been of illegitimate birth; but his parentage, and even his real name, have escaped the researches of his admirers. The appellation of Julius Pomponius Lætus, he doubtless assumed as an academical or scholastic distinction; but the name of Lætus was sometimes exchanged for that of *Fortunatus*, or *Infortunatus*, as the circumstances of his situation seemed to require: and Vossius supposes that Julius Pomponius Sabinus is no other than the same person. (*de Histor. Latinis*, lib. iii. p. 615.) From the letters of Politiano, it appears, that a frequent communication subsisted between these two eminent scholars, and that Pomponius

land; where under Casimir and John Albert, the successive sovereigns of that country, he enjoyed

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was accustomed to furnish his learned friend with such curious monuments of antiquity as his researches supplied. We also learn from Crinitus, that Pomponius transmitted to Lorenzo de' Medici an antique marble, which exhibited the order of the months of the year, and of the Roman calendar; and the frequent commemoration of the family of the Medici, in the letters of Pomponius, manifest the good understanding that subsisted between them, which was probably increased by the arrival of the cardinal in Rome. The works of Pomponius are very numerous, and many of them have frequently been reprinted; but his most useful production is his description of the antiquities of Rome. Erasmus commends the unaffected elegance of his style. "Pomponius Lætus, elegantia Romanâ contentus, nihil affecta vit ultra." Bartolommeo Martiano (*Diss. Voss. ii. 242.*) has justly appreciated the merits of this early scholar, whom he ranks with Tortelli and Blondo. "Scripsere nullo pene discrimine, vera pariter et falsa, apta atque inepta; tamen eos qui primi omnium hanc scribendi provinciam aggressi sunt, ob eam causam non indignos laude existimavimus, quod ad plura utilioraque inveniendâ viam poteris ostendisse videmus." To Pomponius we are also indebted for the earliest editions of several of the Roman classics, and among others, *Terentius Varro*, Ven. 1474. *fo. Silius Italicus*, Romæ, 1471, *fo. Quintus Curtius*, Romæ, per Georgium Laver, absque anni nota. *Columella*, published with the *Rei Rusticæ Scriptores*, Bonon. 1494, where he styles himself Pomponius Fortunatus, in consequence of which he is cited by the bibliographer, de Bure, as a distinct author. *Bibliogr. Instr. No. 1527.*

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enjoyed for several years some of the chief offices of the state. The distinguished favours bestowed on him by those princes, could not fail of exciting the resentment of their subjects, who were jealous of the interference of a foreigner and a fugitive ; but the virtue or the good fortune of Callimachus were superior to the attacks of his adversaries, and he retained his eminent station, with undiminished honour, to the close of his days.(a)

But although the misfortunes which had befallen

(a) This illustrious scholar was born at San Gemignano, of a noble family, in the year 1437. On associating himself with Pomponius in the Roman academy, he relinquished his family name, and adopted that of *Callimachus*, which he probably thought expressed in Greek the same idea as Buonaccorsi in Italian. His addition of *Experiens* is conjectured by Zeno to have arisen from the vicissitudes which he met with in life ; but this is to suppose, that he did not assume it till after those vicissitudes had taken place. It is more probable that he merely meant to infer, that all true knowledge must be founded on experience. His flight to Poland is thus adverted to by Cantilicio, a contemporary poet, and prelate of the church. It must be premised, that the name of Paul II. was Pietro Barbo.

“ Callimachus, Barbos fugiens ex urbe furores,
“ Barbara quæ fuerant regna, Latina facit.”

befallen this early institution, had considerably damped the spirit of improvement at Rome, yet the disaster was in some degree repaired by the talents of Paolo Cortese; who, at an early period of life, had signalized himself by his dialogue *De hominibus doctis*, which he had inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici (a) The approbation which Politiano expressed of this youthful production, was such as that

great

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Paolo Cortese.

His history of the affairs of Hungary, which he wrote at the instance of the great Mattia Corvino, is preferred by Jovius to any historical work which had appeared since the days of Tacitus. *Voss. de Hist. Lat. lib. iii. p. 619.* He died at Cracow, in the year 1496. His remains were deposited in a tomb of bronze, with the following inscription:

PHILIPPUS CALLIMACHUS EXPERIENS, natione Thuscus, vir doctissimus, utriusque fortunæ exemplum imitandum, atque omnis virtutis cultor præcipuus, divi olim CAZIMIRI et JOHANNIS ALBERTI, Poloniae regum, secretarius acceptissimus, Relictis ingenii, ac rerum a se gestarum, pluribus monumentis, cum summo omnium bonorum mærore, et regiae domus, atque hujus reipub. incommodo, anno salutis nostræ, MCCCCXCVI. calendis Novembris, vita decedens, hic sepultus est.

(a) The dedicatory epistle, is as honourable to the talents of the author, as to the character of the patron. The work itself met with great applause; and the friends of Cortese advised him to publish it; notwithstanding which it remained

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great scholar was seldom induced to bestow; not because he was jealous of the talents of others, but because he was sincere in his commendation of their works, and was enabled, by his own proficiency, to judge of their merits and defects. Some years afterwards, when Cortesé was appointed one of the apostolic notaries, a new institution was formed by him, the members of which met under his own roof, and passed their time, without formal restrictions, either in the perusal of such works as his elegant library supplied, or in conversation on literary topics. Besides his treatise before mentioned, he was the author of many other works;(a) but his premature death

mained in MS. till the year 1734, when it was given to the public by Manni, from a copy found by Alex. Politi, at S. Gemignano.

(a) Among these are his treatise *De Cardinalatu*, and several theological works. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. *par.* 1, *p.* 85, 232. In another department of letters, he was however excelled by his brother Alessandro, who was one of the most elegant Latin poets of that period, as appears by his heroic poem, entitled *Laudes bellicæ Matthiæ Corvini Hungariæ regis. Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* iii. 157. From this piece it appears, that Alessandro had followed the fortunes of this great prince, who was not excelled in his love of literature by any monarch of his time.

death prevented the world from reaping the full fruits of his talents and his labours.

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Serafino d'
Aquila.

Among those who attended the literary meetings of Cortese, was the poet Serafino d' Aquila. At a time when the Italian language was yet struggling to divest itself of its impurities and defects, the works of Serafino were not without some share of merit. He was born at Aquila, in Abruzzo, of a respectable family, and passed a part of his youthful years in the court of the count of Potenza, where he acquired a knowledge of music. Returning to his native place, he applied himself for three years to the study of the works of Dante and of Petrarca, after which he accompanied the cardinal Ascanio Sforza to Rome. During his whole life Serafino seems to have changed the place of his residence as often as the favours of the great held out to him a sufficient inducement. Hence we find him successively in the service, or at the courts, of the king of Naples, the duke of Urbino, the marquis of Mantua, the duke of Milan, and finally of Cæsar Borgia. Nor must we wonder, that Serafino was sought for as a companion, to alleviate the anxiety, or banish the languor of greatness; for he superadded to his talent for poetical composition,

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tion, that of singing extempore verses to the lute, and was one of the most celebrated *Improvvisatori* of his time. This circumstance may sufficiently explain the reason of the superior degree of reputation which he obtained during his life-time, to that which he has since enjoyed. (a)

State of Literature in other parts of Italy.

Such was the state of literature, and the talents of its chief professors, in the city of Rome, at the time when the cardinal de' Medici took up his residence there; and it must be confessed that, notwithstanding the laudable exertions of the few distinguished scholars

(a) The works of Serafino were often reprinted in the early part of the sixteenth century. The first edition is that of Rome, 1503; but that of the Giunti, 1516, is the most beautiful and correct. Amidst the hasty effusions of Serafino, we sometimes meet with passages which prove him to have been a genuine poet; as in the opening of his *Capitolo to Sleep*:

“ Placido sonno, che dal ciel in terra
 “ Tacito scendi a tranquillar la mente,
 “ E de' sospir a mitigar la guerra!

“ Ben fai tu spesso i miei desir contenti.
 “ Che in lieto sonno a me conduci quella,
 “ Che pascè il cor de sì lunghi tormenti.”

These

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scholars before mentioned, that place had not hitherto brought forth those fruits which might have been expected from the munificence of Nicholas V. and the example of Pius II. Nor is it to be denied, that in almost every other city of Italy, the interests of letters and of science, were attended to with more assiduity than in the chief place in Christendom. At Naples an illustrious band of scholars had, under better auspices, instituted an academy, which had subsisted for many years in great credit. Of this the celebrated Pontano was at this time the chief director, whence it has usually been denominated *the Academy*

These lines seem to have been imitated by the celebrated Giovanni della Casa, in the sonnet beginning,

“ O sonno, o della queta, umida, ombrosa,
“ Notte, placido figlio.”

And more evidently by Filicaja, the finest modern lyric poet of Italy, about the year 1700, in his *terzine*, *Al Sonno*.

“ Cara Morte de’ sensi, oblio de’ mali.”

Serafino died in 1500, in his thirty-fourth year. On his tomb, in S. Maria del Popolo, was inscribed the following hyperbolic eulogium, by his friend Bernardo Accolti:

“ Qui giace Serafin: partirti or puoi;
“ Sol d’aver visto il sasso che lo serra
“ Assai sei debitor agli occhi tuoi.”

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A. Et. 17.Neapolitan
academy.

Academy of Pontano.(a) It was, however, originally established, in the reign of Alfonso I. by Antonio Beccatelli, Bartolommeo Faccio, Lorenzo Valla, and other eminent men, whom that patron of letters had attracted to his court. The place of assembly was denominated the Portico, and being situated near the residence of Beccatelli, that distinguished scholar, and favourite of Alfonso, was its earliest and most constant visitor. (b) After the death of Beccatelli, his friend and disciple Pontano, was appointed chief of the academy,

(a) On entering the Neapolitan academy, Pontano changed his baptismal name of *Giovanni* for *Jovianus*. This custom is pleasantly ridiculed by Ariosto, in his sixth satire, inscribed to Pietro Bembo.

“ Il nome, che d’ Apostolo ti denno,
 “ O d’ alcun minor santo, i padri, quando
 “ Christiano d’ acqua, non d’ altro ti fenno,
 “ In *Cosmico*, in *Pomponio* vai mutando;
 “ Altri Pietro in *Pierio*, altri Giovanni
 “ In *Jano* e in *Jovian* v’è riconciando;
 “ Quasi che’l nome i buon giudicj inganni,
 “ E che quel meglio t’abbia a far Poeta
 “ Che non farà lo studio di molt’ anni.”

(b) For some account of Beccatelli, v. *Life of Lor. de’ Medici*. i. 51.

academy, and under his direction it rose to a considerable degree of respectability.

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A. M. 17.

Giovanni
Pontano.

Few scholars, who have owed their eminence merely to their talents, have enjoyed a degree of respect and dignity equal to Pontano. His writings, both in verse and prose, are extremely numerous; but, as they are wholly in the Latin language, he cannot be enumerated among those, who, at this period, laboured, with so much assiduity and success, in the improvement of their native tongue. The versatility of his talents, and the extent of his scientific acquirements, are chiefly evinced by his works in prose; (a) in which he appears successively as a grammarian, a politician, an historian, a satirist, and a natural and moral philosopher. These writings are now, however, in a great degree, consigned to oblivion; nor is it difficult to account for the neglect which they have experienced. His grammatical treatise *De Aspiratione*, in two books, instead of exhibiting a philosophical

(a) First collected and published under the directions of Pietro Summonte, by Andrea d'Asola, at Venice, vol. i. 1518, Vols. ii, and iii. 1519, 8vo. afterwards published at Basil, 1538.

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philosophical investigation of general rules, degenerates into an ill-arranged and tiresome catalogue of particular examples. Nor do we feel more inclined to indulge such a trial of our patience, on account of the instance which he alledges of the orator Messala, who wrote a whole book on the letter *s*. In natural philosophy his writings chiefly relate to the science of astronomy, in which he appears to have made great proficiency; but they are at the same time disgraced by a frequent mixture of judicial astrology; and afford a convincing proof that, when an author builds on false grounds, and reasons on false principles, the greater his talents are, the greater will be his absurdities. His moral treatises are indeed the most valuable of his writings; but they are injured by the unbounded fertility of his imagination, and exhibit rather all that can be said on the subject, than all that ought to be said. From some scattered passages, it appears, however, that he had formed an idea of laying a more substantial basis for philosophical inquiries, than the world had theretofore known; and had obtained, though in dim and distant prospect, a glimpse of that nobler edifice, which about a century afterwards, was more fully displayed to

to the immortal Bacon, and in comparison with which, the fabrics of the schoolmen, like the magic castles of romance, have vanished into air.(a)

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Of the satirical talents of Pontano, if we take his *Asinus* as a specimen, no very favourable opinion can be entertained.(b) His poetry is, however entitled to great approbation, and will always rank him, if not the first, at least in the very first rank of modern Latin

His Latin
poetry com-
pared with
that of Po-
itiano.

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Poets.

(a) "De spe ita quidem mihi persuadeo, brevi fore quod dixi, ut et philosophia clariorem formam induat, cumque una sit et certa veritas, minime futura sit tam varia et lubrica, et qui eloquentiam sequuntur habeant unde facilius hauriant, quod exornare verbis possint." *Pont. de Obedientia.*

(b) This is a kind of drama, in which a traveller, an inn-keeper, and a courier, are introduced, rejoicing in the restoration of peace, which the courier attributes to the exertions of Pontano. The blessings of peace are then chanted by a chorus of priests, after which Altilio, Pardo, and Cariteo, three of his most intimate friends, lament together the insanity of Pontano; who has of late devoted all his time to the feeding and decorating an *ass*. Pontano soon afterwards appears, accompanied by his gardener, with whom he holds a long and serious conversation, on the graft-
ing

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Poets, Under his control, that language displays a facility, a grace, to which it had been for upwards of a thousand years a stranger ; and in the series of Latin writers, his works may be placed next to those of the Augustan age, which they will not disgrace by their proximity. They display a great variety of elegiac, lyric, and epigrammatic productions ; but his *Hendecasyllabi* are preferred to the rest of

ing of trees, and the improvement of his garden. A boy then brings in his favourite ass, and Pontano determines to wash and comb him ; but beginning at the tail, is molested by a very natural circumstance. He then undertakes to perform that operation on the head ; when in return for his kindness, the stupid animal seizes and bites him by the hand, and Pontano finds, too late, *that they who attempt to wash the face of an ass, lose both their soap and their labour.* “ *Asino caput qui lavent, eos operam cum “ sapone amittere.*” This piece has been said to refer to the duke of Calabria, who, as Pontano thought, did not sufficiently repay the services which he had performed, in effecting a peace with the pope, in the year 1486 ; but if Pontano was capable of this gross abuse of the son of his great patron and benefactor, whom he constantly celebrated with the most open flattery, he deserves as much censure for the malevolence of his purpose, as for the imbecility of its execution.

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of his writings.(a) An eminent critic has not indeed hesitated to give Pontano the preference in point of elegance, to Politiano himself.(b) Nor will a candid judge be inclined to oppose this opinion, as far as relates to ease and fluency of style; that of Pontano being uniformly graceful and unlaboured, whilst in that of Politiano, an attempt may at times be perceived to force the genius of the language to the expression of his own ideas. But if an inquiry were to be instituted into the respective merits of these great men, this circumstance alone would not be sufficient to decide the question. The subjects on which Pontano has treated, are mostly of a general nature: amatory verses, convivial invitations, or elegiac effusions. Even in his *Urania*, or poem on the stars, and his *Hortus Hesperidum*, or poem on the cultivation of the orange, he seldom treads at any great distance from the track of the ancients. His sentiments are

G 2

therefore

(a) The poetical remains of Pontano were published in 2 vols. 12mo., the first by Aldo, in 1513, the second by Andrea d' Asola, the associate and successor of Aldo, in 1518.

(b) " Politiano adhuc politior." *Borrichius, de poetis*, ap. *Blount, Censura authorum*. 502

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therefore rather accommodated to the language, than the language to his sentiments. But with Politiano the case is reversed: with a more vigorous mind, and a wider range of thought, he disdained to be limited to prescriptive modes of expression, and in embodying his ideas, relied on his own genius. Hence, whilst Pontano is at one time an imitator of Virgil, and at another of Horace, Catullus, or Propertius, Politiano is himself an original, and owns no subservience to any of the great writers of antiquity; whom, however, he has shewn that he was capable of imitating, had he chosen it, with great exactness. Pontano may therefore be allowed to take the precedence of Politiano, with respect to the grace and facility of his verse, without detracting from the intrinsic merits of that sound scholar and very extraordinary man.(a)

Giacopo
Sanazzaro.

Not less celebrated than the name of Pontano, is that of his friend and countryman, Sanazzaro,

(a) The political and literary labours of Pontano, and the chief circumstances of his public and private life, are commemorated in a beautiful elegiac poem of his friend Sanazzaro. *Eleg. lib. i. El. 9. Ed. Comin. 1731.*

“ Qui primus patrios potuit liquisse penates.”

Sanazzaro, who is equally distinguished by the excellence of his Latin and Italian compositions. He was born at Naples, in the year 1458, of a respectable family, which claimed consanguinity with San Nazzaro, one of the saints of the Roman church.(a) Under the instructions of Giuniano Majo, Sanazzaro chiefly acquired the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, the latter of which he cultivated

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(a) By a singular coincidence, Sanazzaro was born on the very day devoted to that saint, being the twenty-eighth day of July. Of the opulence, the rank, and the achievements of his ancestors, he has left in his writings many memorials. From these it appears, that his family was originally of Spain, and that Niccolo, one of his ancestors, followed Carlo Durazzo in a high military capacity, when he obtained possession of the kingdom of Naples. His services were repaid by the princely reward of the castle of Mondragone, and an extensive territory in the province of Lucania, which were enjoyed by Giacomo, his son, the grandfather of the poet, till he was deprived of them by his opposition to the dissolute conduct, and oppressive measures, of Joanna, the sister and successor of Ladislaus, king of Naples. From that period the possessions of his family were considered as inferior to their rank; and, although they still enjoyed an honourable independence, their reduced state, and lost honours, are a frequent subject of the poet's complaint. *Arcadia, prosa 7 Crispo vita di San. p. 2.* His nativity, on the feast of San Nazzaro, is commemorated in the following

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cultivated in an eminent degree. On entering into the Neapolitan academy, he relinquished his appellation of Giacopo, and adopted the name of *Actius Syncerus*, by which he is usually known. The friendship of Pontano, and his own merits, recommended him at an early age to the favour of Ferdinand, king of Naples, and of his sons, Alfonso and Federigo, to whom, throughout all their calamities, he maintained an unshaken attachment. For the amusement of these princes he is said to have written several dramatic pieces in the Neapolitan dialect, which highly delighted the populace; (a) but perhaps the earliest assignable date

leaving inscriptive lines, on dedicating a chapel to that saint, and in many other parts of his works :

“ Divo Nazario.

“ Natali quod, Dive, tuo, lucem editus hausi ;

“ Quod tua nascenti lux mihi prima fuit ;

“ Actius hoc riguo parvum cum fonte sacellum

“ Dedico ; tu nutu fac rata vota tuo ;

“ Ut quæ Sextiles lux venerit ante calendas

“ Quarta, sit hic generi bis celebranda meo ;

“ Et quod solennes revocat tua festa per aras ;

“ Et quod natalem contigit esse meam.”

(a) “ Nè pur oggi è fatto antico in Napoli, fra gli altri
“ suoi componimenti, uno, detto dal volgo di essa Città,
Gliomero,

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date to any of his works, is the year 1492, when the great events, and changes which occurred in the world, by the expulsion of the Moors from Grenada, and the discovery of Hispaniola by Columbus, attracted in a high degree the public attention in every part of Europe. It is indeed a singular coincidence, that in the same year in which the Spanish sovereigns freed their country from the opprobrium of a foreign yoke, they should themselves have commenced a similar invasion on the natural rights of others. The discovery of the new world gave rise to many singular and extravagant notions, which are striking proofs of the credulity of the age.(a) But the conquest of Grenada was celebrated throughout all Christendom ;(b) and with particular splendor

" *Gliomero*, nome conveniente all' opera, in cui si raccolgono tutte sentenze, e voci goffe, del parlare antico Napolitano, con digressioni molto ridicole, segni non oscuri della fertilità dell' ingegno di esso poeta." *Crispo*, in *vita San.* p. 9.

(a) *Monaldeschi*, *Commentarii Historici*, lib. xvi. Ed. Ven. 1784. *Bembo*, *Istoria Veneta*, lib. vi.

(b) An account of the rejoicings in London, on this occasion, may be found in *Hollingshead's Chronicle*.

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splendor at Naples, the sovereigns of which were so nearly allied, both by blood and marriage, to the reigning family of Spain. On this occasion Sanazzaro produced a dramatic poem, which was performed before Alfonso, duke of Calabria, at Naples, on the fourth day of March, 1492.(a) Nor was it only by the labours of the pen that Sanazzaro obtained the favour of his great patrons. The contests which arose in Italy had called forth the military talents of Alfonso, who after having expelled the Turks from Otranto, fought the battles of his country with various success. In these expeditions he was accompanied by Sanazzaro, who in his Latin poems frequently adverts to his warlike exploits, with the consciousness of one whose services have been neither unknown nor unimportant.

His Arcadia.

Of the writings of Sanazzaro in his native language,

(a) The plan of this piece is extremely simple. Mahomet first appears lamenting his defeat, and flying before the Christian army; after which, *Faith* and *Joy* successively enter the stage, in appropriate habiliments, and exult in his defeat, and the representation terminates with a masquerade and a dance. This *Farsa*, as it appears to have been entitled by the author, remained in MS. till the year 1719, when it was published at Naples, and has since been usually annexed to the Italian writings of Sanazzaro.

language, the most celebrated is the *Arcadia*, which, for purity of style, and elegance of expression, is allowed to have excelled all that Italy had before produced. This performance is also a species of drama, in which the interlocutors express themselves in verse; but every dialogue is preceded by an introduction in a kind of poetical prose, the supposed dialect of Arcadian shepherds. If the applauses with which this piece was received, and the commendations bestowed upon it in the lifetime of the author, be considered as inadequate proofs of its merit, the numerous editions of it, which appeared in the course of the ensuing century, are a more unequivocal testimony of its excellence; and the latest historian of Italian literature acknowledges, that after the lapse of three centuries, the *Arcadia* is justly esteemed as one of the most elegant compositions in the Italian language.^(a) It must however be confessed, that this piece is not now read without some effort against that involuntary languor, which works of great length, and little interest, never fail to occasion. This may perhaps be attributed to the alternate recurrence of prose and verse,

a species

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(a) *Tirab. vii. par. 3. p. 74.* About 60 editions of the *Arcadia* appeared before the year 1600.

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a species of composition, which has never succeeded in any age, or in any country, and which even the genius of La Fontaine could not raise into celebrity; (a) to the use of poetical prose, that hermaphrodite of literature, equally deprived of masculine vigour and of feminine grace; to the repetition of the *versi sdruccioli*, which terminate every line with a rapidity approaching to the ludicrous, and prevent that variety of pauses which is essential to numerous composition. If to these causes we add the very inartificial, and almost unconnected plan of the poem, and the total want of variety in the sentiments and characters, we shall be at no loss to account for the present neglect of a work, which may however be esteemed as a production of uncommon merit at the time when it appeared, and as having contributed in an eminent degree to form and to refine the Italian tongue.

And other
writings.

If, however, the Arcadia of Sanazzaro had never been written, his sonnets and lyric pieces would have secured to him the distinction of one of the chief poets that Italy has produced. It has indeed been supposed, that if the increasing celebrity of Pietro Bembo, had

(a) *Les Amours de Psyche & de Cupidon.*

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had not deprived Sanazzaro of the hope of being considered as the principal restorer of Italian literature, he would have pursued that object with still greater energy and success. (a) The rivalship of these two eminent men, whilst it rather cemented than relaxed the friendship that subsisted between them, eventually led them to pursue, by a kind of tacit consent, each a different path to fame; and whilst Bembo persevered in cultivating his native tongue, Sanazzaro turned all his powers to the improvement of his talents for Latin poetry, in which department his productions will occur to our future notice.

When we advert to the great degree of attention paid to the cultivation of polite letters, both in Naples and in Florence, at this period, it may seem extraordinary that so little intercourse subsisted between the scholars in those places. In the *Epistola* of Politiano, we find indeed a letter from him to Pontano on the death of Ferdinand of Naples, written in the most respectful and flattering terms; (b) but no answer to this letter appears in

Enmity between the Neapolitan and Florentine scholars.

(a) *Crispo. Vita di San. p. 24. et not. 63.*

(b) *Pol. Ep. lib. ii. ep. 7.*

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in the collection, and as it was customary for Politiano to insert the replies of his friends, we may be assured, that either none was returned, or that it was not calculated to do much honour to the person to whom it was addressed. It also appears, that Pontano had, on some former occasion, excused himself from the task of correspondence; to which, Politiano, with an unusual degree of condescension, replies, "you have my full consent, as long as I know you honour me with your esteem, not only, not to reply to my letters, but even not to read them." This indifference on the part of Pontano, who has, on no occasion introduced the name of Politiano in his works, may perhaps be taken as no equivocal indication of his disregard, whilst his intimacy with Scala and Marullus, the avowed enemies of Politiano, may serve to confirm the suspicion. But the works of Sanazzaro afford examples of more direct hostility. In the year 1489, Politiano published his *Miscellanea*, in which he conjectures, that Catullus, under the emblem of his sparrow, concealed an idea, too indecent to be more fully expressed.(a) Why this

(a) This he infers from the conclusion of an epigram of Martial;

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this observation should excite the resentment of the Neapolitan scholars, who were by no means remarkable for the moral purity of their compositions, it is not easy to discover; (a) but among the epigrams of Sanazzaro are some verses addressed, *Ad Pulicianum*, (a term of reproach of which Scala had set the example) in which he with great severity alludes to this criticism, which he treats with the utmost ridicule and contempt. (b) Not satisfied with this attack, he returns to the charge; and, in another copy of verses, bestows on the object of his resentment the most unqualified abuse. (c) In other parts of his works

"Da mi basia, sed Catulliana,
"Quæ si tot fuerint quot ille dixit,
"Donabo tibi passerem Catulli."



Polit. Miscel. lib. i. cap. 6.

(a) Pontano had himself not only commented on the works of Catullus, as appears by an epigram of Sanazzaro, *De emendatione Catulli; ad Jovianum*, but had adopted and amplified the idea of Politiano in an epigram, which he entitles *Gui donaturus sit suam columbam*. *Op. poet. i. 232.*

(b) *Sanazzar. Epig. lib. i. Ep. 61.*

"Ait nescio quis Pulicianus."

A piece much more remarkable for its indecency than its wit, and infinitely more reprehensible than the passage to which it adverts.

(c) *Ib. Ep. 61.*

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works he inveighs against certain authors, who contaminate the precincts of Parnassus by their envy and malignity; among whom it is highly probable that he meant to include the Florentine scholar. (a) As Politiano was, of all men living, the most unlikely to submit to these insults, without a reply, we may be allowed to conjecture, that these hostile pieces, at whatever time they were written, were not made public till after his death.

Cariteo.

Another member of the academy, and distinguished literary ornament of Naples, was the poet Cariteo, whose family-name has been lost in his poetical appellation. He is said to have been a native of Barcelona, and it appears from his own writings, that he was connected by consanguinity with Massimo Corvino, bishop of Massa, who also held a place in the academy. (b) Of his friendly intercourse with the first scholars and chief nobility of Naples, and even with the individuals
of

(a) *Eleg. lib. i. El. 11. In maledicos detractores.*

(b) " E tu, Corvino mio, poi ch'io ti mostro,
" Che di sangue e d'amor son teco giunto,
" Parla di me con penna, e con inchiostro."
Cariteo, contra i malevoli, in fine.

of the reigning family there, his works afford innumerable instances, whilst in those of Sanazzaro and Pontano, he is frequently mentioned with particular affection and commendation. (a) His writings, which are wholly in the Italian tongue, are characterized by a vigour of sentiment, and a genuine vein of poetry. Without rivalling the elegance of the Tuscan poets, they possess also a considerable share of ease and harmony. Some of these

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(a) Thus Sanazzaro:

“ Quin et rite suos genio Chariteus honores
“ Præbeat, et festas concinet ante dapes.”
Eleg. lib. i.

And Pontano addresses *Ad Chariteum*, his Hendecasyllabi, in which he celebrates the baths of Baia. Cariteo himself thus anticipates the applause of his friends:

“ Parle di me il Pontan, quel bel tesoro
“ D' Apollo, e delle Aonide sorelle,
“ Che con la lingua sparge un fiume d'oro.
“ Depinto io son nel opre eterne e belle
“ Del mio bel Sanazar, vero Syncero,
“ Ch' allora io giugnero fin a le stelle.”
Cariteo, contra i malevoli.

He also attributes the name by which he is now known, to the favour of Sanazzaro:

“ Quando di quel liquor Parthenopeo
“ Syncero mi pascea, dolce cantando,
“ Con le charite, ond' io fui CHARITEO.”
Cariteo, Pascha. Cant. 6. in fin.

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these compositions refer, in a very particular manner, to the characters of the principal persons, and to the political events of the times. (a) The animosity of the Neapolitan scholars against those of Florence, is further evinced by the writings of Cariteo. In one of his *Canzoni* he insinuates, that the splendor of Dante and of Petrarca has eclipsed the fame of all their countrymen, an observation evidently intended to humiliate the present race of scholars, under a pretext of paying homage to the past; (b) and in his *Risposta contra i malevoli*, to whomsoever he meant to apply that appellation, he has exceeded Sannazaro himself in expressions of his resentment and abuse.

The

(a) They were collected and published by his surviving friend, Pietro Summonte, at Naples, 1509, 4to. From this edition, a Canzone consecrated to the praise of the royal family of Naples, and of his literary friends, and containing some passages of great merit, is given in the Appendix. It is to be observed, however, that the predictions of the poet were speedily reversed, by the entire ruin of his great patrons. v. *Appendix, No. XVIII.*

(b) " Se i due soli, di cui l' Arno si gloria
 " Onde *Beatrice e Laura* hor son divine,
 " Offuscan l' altre stelle Fiorentine,
 " Non torran a *Sebeto* la sua gloria.
 " Vivan le muse."

The other members, who composed the literary institution of Naples, were arranged according to the different districts of the city, or the realm, and the society also associated to itself, as honorary members, the most eminent scholars in other parts of Europe. (a) Among those who contributed at this time to its credit, was Andrea Matteo Acquaviva, duke of Atri, on whom all the academicians of Naples have bestowed the highest honours. (b) Pontano dedicated to him his two books *De rebus Cales- tibus*; Piero Summonte inscribed to him all his works. He is celebrated in the poems of

VOL. I. H Sanazzaro,

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members of
the Neapo-
litan aca-
demy.

(a) It is to be regretted, that the Neapolitan historians have supplied us with little more than the names of those eminent men, who at this early period did so much honour to the literature of their country; and even these lists are not correct, as they contain the names of several persons who flourished at a later period. We are indeed informed by Apostolo Zeno, (*Disser. Voss. cap. 78.*) that Bernardo-Cristoforo, a learned Neapolitan, had written the history of this early institution, in a work entitled *Academia Pontani, sive vitæ illustrium virorum, qui cum Jo. Joviano Pontano Neapoli floruerunt*; but the manuscript has been irrecoverably lost. I cannot, however, pass over these illustrious names, without giving such particulars respecting them as have fallen in my way.

(b) "Principem virum," says Pontano, "et in mediis philosophantem belli ardentibus, *Pontan. de Magnanim.*

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Sanazzaro, no less for his warlike exploits, than for his literary accomplishments. (a) Alessandro de' Alessandri dedicated to him the first book of his *Geniales dies*, and Cariteo enumerates him among his particular friends. (b) Of his writings there yet remain his commentaries, called by Paulo Giovio his *Encyclopædia*, and according to the last mentioned author, four books of moral disquisitions, which, as he says, contain *Di bellissime Sottilezze*; but these are the same work, published under different titles. (c) He lived to an advanced age, and distinguished himself, with various success, in the wars which soon after this period, desolated his country. His example descended to his posterity; and the dukes of Atri are celebrated as an uninterrupted series of great and learned men. His brother, Belisario

(a) " *De Andrea Matthæo Aquivivo*

" *Cernis ut exsultet patriis Aquivivus in armis,*

" *Duraque spumanti frena relaxet equo?*

" *Quis mites illum Permessi hausisse liquores*

" *Credat, et imbelles excoluisse lyras?"*

San. Epig. lib. ii. Ep. 2.

(b) *Cariteo, Risposta contra i Malevoli.*

(c) *Commentarii in translationem libelli Plutarchi Chæronæi, de virtute morali. Neap. ex Off. Ant. de Fritiis. 1526.*

This

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lisario Acquaviva, duke of Nardi, was also a member of the society; and, as appears by his writings, attained great proficiency in those studies, to which he had been incited by the example of his near and illustrious relative, (a) whom he also rivalled in his military talents; and towards whom he displayed an act of magnanimity, which confers lasting honour on his memory. (b)

H 2

These

This was printed at the author's own press, at Naples; it was afterwards republished by his son, Antonio Donato, and entitled *Illustrium et exquisitissimarum disputationum libri quatuor, quibus omnes Divina et humana sapientia; præsertim animi moderatriceis, musica, atq. astrologiæ arcana, in Plutarchi Chæronæi de virtute morali præceptionibus recondita, summo ingenii acumine relecta patefunt, et figuris, suo quæque loco, illustrantur. Helionopoli. ap. Jo. Theodobaldum, 1609, 4to.*

(a) The principal work of Belisario consists of his treatises *De Venatione, et de Aucupio; de re militari et singulari certamine; de instituendis principum liberis, Paraphrasis in Economica Aristotelis*. First printed at Naples, 1519, folio, afterwards at Basil, 1578, 8vo. Sanazzaro, in one of his Epigrams, lib. ii. 38. *De Lauro, ad Nerilinum ducem*, has celebrated his munificence in re-establishing, in his city of Nardo, the academy *Del Laura*.

(b) On the descent of Charles VIII. into Naples, the duke of Atri, being suspected of having favoured the cause
of

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These noblemen were of the district of Nido ;(a) as was also Trojano Cavanilla, count of Troja and Montella, another splendid ornament of the Neapolitan academy, to whom Sanazzaro has inscribed his poem, entitled *Salices* ;(b) and who, although not enumerated by the Italian historians among their authors, appears to have signalized himself by

of the French, was deprived, by his sovereign, of the fee of Comersano, from which he derived his title of count, which was conferred on his brother Belisario; but no sooner had these commotions subsided, than Belisario voluntarily relinquished his new possessions in favour of his brother, to whom they were restored by the king; and Belisario was created count, and afterwards duke of Nardi.

Mazzuchelli Scrittori d' Italia, i. 120.

(a) The origin of these divisions of the city of Naples, called by the inhabitants *Seggi*, is fully explained by Giannone in his history of Naples, *lib. xx. cap. 4.* to which I must refer.

(b) " Accipe flumineas properatum carmen ad undas,
 " O mihi non dubia, *Cabanili*, cognite fama;
 " Sed longe varios rerum spectate per usus:
 " Nam tibi me doctæ sic devinxere sorores,
 " Sic mea felici permulcent pectora cura,
 " Ut vix ulla queam ælioris tempora vitæ
 " Te sine, vix placidos pernoctem carpere somnos."

by his researches into antiquity. (a) From the same district was also Giovanni di Sangro, a Neapolitan patrician, to whom Sanazzaro, dying of unsuccessful love, commits the care of his poetical rites. (b)

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Of the department of Capua were Girolamo Carbone, known to the world by his poetical writings, (c) and frequently mentioned with particular applause by Pontano, Sanazzaro, and Cariteo; (d) and Tristano Caraccioli,

(a) " Ipse suæ referat *Cabanilius* ardua Trojæ

" *Moenia, et antiquos, Appula regna, lare.*"

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 11.

(b) " Proh superi, tenues ibit *Synceus* in auras?

" Nec poterit nigri vincere fato regi?

" At tu, quandoquidem *Nemesis* jubet, optime *Sangri,*

" (Nec fas est homini vincere posse deam)

" Accipe concussæ tabulas atque arma carinæ,

" *Naufragii*que mei collige reliquias

" *Errantesque* cie quounque in littore manes;

" *Taliaque* in tumulto carmina cæde meo:

" Actius hic jaceo, spes mecum extincta quiescit;

" Solus de nostro funere restat amor."

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 10.

(c) *Sonetti, Sestine, ed. altre poesie di Girolamo Carbone, Cavaliere Napolitano. Napoli. 1506, in fo.*

(d) " At tu castaliis non inficiande choreis

" *Castalidos, Carbo, nunc cane regna tuæ.*"

Sanaz. El. lib. i. el. 11.

El. v.

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 II. in his *Arcadia*,^(a) and who has left a brief
 A. D. 1498. memoir, in Latin, of his patron,^(b) with
 A. M. 17. whom he appears to have lived on terms of
 great intimacy.^(c)

No one of the academicians was held in higher esteem for his judgment in matters of taste, than Francesco Poderico, or Puderico, of the district of Montagna. To him Pontano and Sanazzaro inscribed many of their works, and Pietro Summonte addressed to him, after the death of its author, the dialogue

Et v. Pontani Hendec. p. 215. De Sermone, p. 231. Eridan. p. 105, also the beautiful elegy of Pontano, inviting him to a rustic supper. *Eridan. i. 120*, and the sonnet of Cariteo,

“ Carbone, in cui scintillan bragie accese.”

(a) “ Ma a guisa d’ un bel sol, fra tutti radia
 “ Carracciol, ch’ in sonar sampogne e cetere,
 “ Non trovarebbe il pari in tutta Arcadia.”

But perhaps some doubt may be entertained, whether this passage may not relate to Gian-Francesco Carraccioli, who lived at this period, and whose poems were printed at Naples, in 1506. *v. Quadrio li. 222.*

(b) Printed by Roberto de Sarno, at the end of his life of Pontano. *Napoli. 1761.*

(c) *Pontani, de Sermone, lib. iv. p. 231.*

logue of Pontano, entitled *Aetius*. Although deprived of sight, the talents of Poderico rendered him the delight of all his literary friends. (a) Such was the respect paid to his opinion by Sanazzaro, that in the composition of his celebrated poem *De partu Virginis*, which he was twenty years in completing, he is said to have consulted him upon every verse, and frequently to have expressed the same verse in ten different forms, before he could please the ear of this fastidious critic. (b)

CHAR.
II

A. D. 1492.
A. Et. 17.

Among

(a) *Pontani, Hendec. lib. i. p. 206.*

(b) In one of his poems, of which only a fragment remains, Sanazzaro solicits the favour of his friend.

“ Tuque ades, o nostri merces non parva laboris,
“ Quem Phoebus mihi, quem doctæ, mea turba, puellæ
“ Conciliant; dumque ipse ratem de litore pello,
“ Da vela insinuans, pelagoque excurrere patenti
“ Pars animæ, Puderice, meæ.”

Sanaz. Op. Ed. Comino, 91.

And in celebrating the day of his nativity, he has the following passage:

“ Adde tuos, Puderice, sales; adde inclyta patris
“ Eloquia; adde animo tot bona parta tuo.”

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. ii. el. 2.

Which, however, it must be observed, is addressed to Alberico, the son of Francesco, of whom Pontano relates the following anecdote: *De Sermone, lib. iv. p. 231*, “ Gar-
“ riebat

CHAP. II. Among the *Tumuli* of Pontano, which his officious kindness frequently devoted to his living friends, is one inscribed to Poderico, from the title to which it appears, that he ranked among the nobility of Naples.(a)

A. D. 1492.
A. Æt. 17.

Of the district of Porto were Pietro-Jacopo Gianuario, of whom an Italian poem, in manuscript, has been preserved,(b) and his son, Alfonso Gianuario, of Portanova.

The only member of the academy from the district of Porto, if we except Sanazzaro, was Alessandro de' Alessandri, author of the *Geniales Dies*, a work which has been esteemed, and frequently commented on, as one of the classical productions of the Latin tongue. He was born of a noble family of Naples, about the year 1461, and in the early

“ riebat quispiam, nostra in porticu, quem ferre Albericus
“ Pudericus Francisci nostri filius cum non posset, nullo dato
“ responso, manu sublata, monuit, nasum ut emungerit;
“ quo e signo mirificus inter astantes exortus est risus.”

(a) *Pontani, Tumuli*, where he is called “ ex nobilitate Neapolitana.”

(b) *Vita di Sanazzar. da Crespo. Ven. 1752, p. 8.* where it appears, that this poem was formerly in the possession of Matteo Egizio an Italian lawyer.

early part of his life, exercised with reputation, the profession of an advocate, at Naples and at Rome; but his intimacy with the learned men of his time, seduced him from his employment, and led him to the study of polite literature. Besides his principal work, he is said to have been the author of several dissertations on dreams, spectres, and on houses haunted by evil spirits, which are considered as proofs of childish credulity; (a) but it may be doubted, whether these are any other than his chapters on those subjects in his *Geniales Dies*. Of that collection very different opinions have been entertained, and he has been accused of having stolen even the plan of his work from Aulus Gellius. But what is there peculiar in a plan, which consists only in dividing a certain number of unconnected observations into a certain number of books? In truth, his works prove him to have been a man of extensive reading, great industry, and a considerable share of critical ability, and he was perhaps as little tinctured with superstition, as most of the writers of the age in which he lived. (b)

Among

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II.

A. D. 1492.
A. M. 17.

(a) Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. par. 2. p. 240.

(b) The *Geniales Dies* were first published at Naples, in
1522.

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II.

A. D. 1492.

A. Et. 17.

Among those who resided beyond the districts, were Antonio Carbone, lord of Alise; Giovanni Elio, called also Elio Marchese;(a) Giuniano Majo, the preceptor of Sanazzaro,(b) and who has left a monument of his singular learning, in his treatise *De priscorum proprietate verborum*;(c) Luca Grasso; Giovanni Aniso, whose Latin poems are published under the name of Janus Anysius, and author of a tragedy entitled *Protagonos*;(d) the

1522. In the first chapter of the second book, is an interesting account of the manner in which Sanazzaro was accustomed to entertain his literary friends.

- (a) "Ælius at blandæ fretus dulcedine linguae
" Facunda totos conterat arte dies."

Sanaz. *El. lib. i. el. 11.*

- (b) "Nectat honorata Majus sua dicta corona,
" Tamque pias serulas regia sceptrâ vocet."

Ibid.

Cariteo also commemorates,

- " Musefilo et Majo, anime argute,
" Ciascune Quintiliano al secol nostro,
" Moderator de l'aspra gioventute."

Contra i malevoli.

(c) First printed at Naples, in 1475, and again in 1480; it was also printed at Treves, 1477 and 1480, and at Venice, 1482.

(d) *Jani Anysii varia poemata et Satyræ*, Neap. 1531, 4to. *Ejusdem Anysii Tragedia cui titulus, PROTOGONOS*, Neap.

the poet Cariteo ; Pietro Compare, frequently addressed by Pontano as his associate in the rites of Bacchus and of Venus ; (a) Pietro Summonte, himself an elegant writer, and to whose pious care we are indebted for the preservation of the works of many of his learned friends ;

CHAP.
II

A. D. 1402.
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Neap. 1536. 4to. Cælio Calcagnini thus adverts to the writings of Aniso,

“ Quis non Anysii dulce carmen, et Musas

“ Exosculetur ? quæ adeo dulce dictarunt

“ Carmen ; cui invidere plurimi possint ;

“ Quod æmulari aut alter, aut queat nemo.”

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. iii. 68.

(a) *Pontan. Hendec. p.* 189, 213. *Epigr.* 233 ; some of which rival Catullus, both in elegance and indecency. That Piero was distinguished by his own writings, appears from the beautiful and affectionate lines of Sanazzaro, on his death. *Epigr. lib.* ii. 15. He is also enumerated by the poet among his particular friends, and celebrated for his wit and vivacity :

“ Nec minus et Musæ repetens monimenta jocosæ

“ Compater, argutos ingerat ore sales.”

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. *el.* 11.

Pontano dedicated to him a monument in his chapel at Naples, with the following inscription.

“ PETRO COMPATRI, VIRO OFFICIOSISSIMO

“ PONTANUS POSUIT, CONSTANTEM OB AMICITIAM.

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friends ;(a) Tomaso Fusco ;(b) Rutilio Zenone ;(c) Girolamo Angeriano, whose poems have been published with those of Marullus and

(a) For which he is celebrated in the following exquisite verses by Sanazzaro ;

- “ Excitat obstrictas tumultis Summontius umbras ;
 “ Impleat ut sanctæ munus amicitia :
 “ Utque prius vivos, sic et post fata sodales
 “ Observat ; tristes et sedet ante rogos :
 “ Nec tantum violas cineri, ac benevolentia ponit
 “ Serta, sed et lachrymis irrigat ossa piis.
 “ Parva lequor : cultis reparat monumenta libellis ;
 “ Cum possint longam saxa timere client.
 “ At tu, vivaci quæ fulcis nomina Fama,
 “ Poscenti gratas, Musa, repende vices ;
 “ Ut quoniam dulces optat sic vivere amicos,
 “ Vivat, et in libris sit sacer ille meis.”

Sanaz. Epigr. lib. ii. 9.

To Summonte, Cariteo has also addressed the highly commendatory sonnets, beginning,

“ Summontio, in dubbio sono ove nascesti.”

and,

“ Summontio mio, dal summo Aonio monte.”

(b) To Tomaso Fusco, Sanazzaro has addressed his Elegy on the calends of December. *lib. iii. el. 3.*

(c) “ Certent Socraticis Zenonis scripta libellis ;

“ Cujus apis vernos intulit ore favos.”

Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 11.

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II.A. D. 1498
A. B. 17.

and Johannes Secundus; (a) Antonio Tebaldeo an Italian poet, of considerable eminence, who chiefly resided at Ferrara, and whose writings will occur to our future notice; Girolamo Borgia, a Latin poet; (b) and Massimo Corvino, bishop of Massa, who had in his youth distinguished himself by his poetical compositions. (c)

Of

(a) *Poetæ tres elegantissimi; scilicet, Michael Marullus, Hieronymus Angerianus, et Joannes Secundus. Paris, 1582.* Many of his works are also inserted in the *Carmina illustr. Poet. Italorum*, the merits of which he has himself well appreciated in the following lines, entitled, *Libellum ad Lectorem.*

"Doctrinam si forte cupis, si forte leperes

"Pierios, Domini, ne lege scripta mei;

"Dum nimis igne calet, solum describit inertes

"Curas, et quanta est Celia, quantus amor."

Carmin. illustr. Poet. Ital. i. 298.

(b) A favourable specimen of his writings is given in the *Carmin. illustr. Poet. Ital. ii. 427.* One of the Elegies of Pontano is addressed *Ad Hieronymum Borgium, poetam elegantissimum. Amores, p. 129,* from which we learn, that the family of Borgia was originally of Spain, and that his ancestors, having visited Italy, on a warlike expedition, had there taken up their abode.

(c) "Quique velut tenera surgit novus arbore ramus

"Gervinus, quavis aure probanda canat."

San. Eleg. i. 11.

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II.A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 17.

Of the Regnicoli were Gabriele Altilio, bishop of Polycastro, author of the celebrated Epithalamium on the marriage of Gian-Galeazzo Sforza with Isabella of Aragon, and the frequent subject of the panegyric of his contemporaries; (a) Antonio Galateo of Lecce, deservedly held in high estimation in his profession, as a physician, and whose attainments in natural and moral philosophy, were much beyond the level of the age in which he lived; (b) and

(a) This Epithalamium is published in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* i. 129. And is also printed, with a few other pieces of the same author, at the close of the works of Sanazzaro, by Comino, *Ratav.* 1731, 4to. where numerous testimonies are collected of the merits of Altilius. Some of these pieces had, however, before been printed with the works of Sanazzaro, Daniel Gereti, and the brothers of the Amalthei, illustrated by the notes of Peter Vlamingii, *Amst.* 1728, in one vol. 8vo. which may be united with the variorum editions of the classics. The Epithalamium was translated into Italian by Giovanni Battista Carminati, a Venetian nobleman; and published by Comino, in the year 1730, after the death of the translator. *Quadrio* ii. 587.

(b) Galateo is said to have indicated the possibility of the navigation to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, in his treatise *De situ Elementorum*, published in 1501, but written some years prior to that period. *Tirab.* vi. 1. 166. In his moral writings, he combated, with sound reason, the

and Giovanni Eliseo, of Anfratta, in Apulia, better known as a Latin poet, by the name of Elysius Calentius.^(a)

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The associated strangers, whose names have been preserved to us, were Lodovico Montalto,

the prevailing notions of supernatural agency. *Tirab.* vi. 1. 296. He also illustrated the topography of his native country with accurate maps and descriptions. *Giovio, Iscritt.* 211. Galateo is not only celebrated in the works of the poets of the time, for his great acquirements and amiable qualities, but was himself also a poet of considerable merit.

(a) His works were printed at Rome, in 1503, under the title of *Opuscula Elysii Calentii, Poetæ clarissimi, &c.* This volume is extremely rare; having, as it is supposed, been suppressed, although sanctioned by a privilege from the court of Rome, *v. de Bure*, 2892. This author has obtained a place among the unfortunate sons of literature, whom Tollius has enumerated in his Appendix to Valerianus, *p.* 11. It appears, however, that his misfortunes were occasioned by his amorous propensities, which engrossed both his talents and his time. To this the following elegant lines of Angelo Colocci refer.

“ Sumpserat Elysius calamum scripturus amoris

“ Sævitiā, tenuem risit amor calamum :

“ Pectus et arrepta transfixit arundine, dicens,

“ Judice te, dic, quis fortior est calamus.”

Colocci vita, a Ubaldino. Rom. 1673.

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II.A. D. 1492.
A. Et. 17.

Montalto, of Syracuse; (a) Pietro Gravina, a canon of Naples, and a Latin poet of the first celebrity; (b) Marc-Antonio Flaminio, of Sicily, a distinguished scholar, but not to be mistaken for the celebrated Latin poet of the same name, a native of Serravalle; Egidio, afterwards cardinal of Viterbo; (c) Bartolommeo Scala, of Florence; (d) Basilio Zanchi, of Bergamo, distinguished by the elegance of his

(a) His praises are warmly celebrated by Sanazzaro. *Eleg. lib. ii. el. 6.*

(b) The Epigrams of Gravina are preferred by Sanazzaro to those of all his contemporaries. His poems were printed at Naples, in 1532, 4to. A few of them are also inserted in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. v. 366.* Among the Hendecasyllabi of Pontano is an invitation to Gravina, to partake with him the voluptuous retreat of Baja. *Pont. Op. p. 208.*

(c) A disciple of Mariano Genazzano, and said by Giovio to have far excelled his master in learning and eloquence. *Iscrit. 161.* In his youth he cultivated Italian poetry, and his stanze, entitled *Caccia de Amore*, evince considerable poetical talents. They have often been printed, particularly with the works of Girolamo Benivieni, *Ven. 1526.* and with sundry poems of Benivieni and Bojardo. *Ven. 1537.*

(d) *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, li. 86, 88.*

his Latin compositions; (a) and whose beautiful verses on the death of Sanazzaro were translated into Italian, by the great Torquato Tasso; Jacopo Sadoleti, afterwards secretary to Leo X. and who, at a more advanced period of life, attained the dignity of the purple; Giovanni Cotta, of Verona, who followed the fortunes of the celebrated Venetian General Bartolommeo d' Alviano, and whose Latin poems may aspire to rank with those of Navagero, Fracastoro, and Aniso, with whom he lived in habits of friendship; (b) Matteo Albino; (c) Pietro Bembo; Antonio Michele, of Venice; Giovan-Pietro Valeriano, of Belluno; (d) Nicolas Grudius, of Rohan; (e) Giacomo

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(a) Published at Rome, 1540, 4to. and again at Basil, 1555, 8vo.

(b) The poems of Cotta are printed in the scarce volume of the *Carmina v. illustrium Poetarum, scilicet, Petri Bembi, And. Naugerii, Balth. Castilioni, Joannis Collæ, et M. Ant. Flaminii. Ven. Valgrisi, 1548, 8vo.* Some of them also appear in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital.* iii. 490, and in other collections.

(c) " Et qui Pieriis resonat non ultimus antris,
" *Albinus, referat principis acta sui.*"

(d) Author of the treatise *De Literatorum Infelicitate*, and a distinguished Latin poet, to whose works we shall have occasion to advert.

(e) Probably the father of the poet Joannes Secundus,
and

CHAP.
II.A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 17.

como Latino, of Flanders; Giovanni Pardo, often celebrated in the writings of Sanazzaro and Pontano; (a) and Michaelae Marullus of Constantinople, who excelled all his countrymen in the elegance of his Latin compositions. (b)

Of

and his two learned brothers, Nicolas and Hadrian Marius, whose works were published together at Leyden, by Vulcanius, *ap. Elz.* 1612.

(a) A few scattered productions of Pardo appear in the works of Pontano, and Sanazzaro; which shew that he had imbibed the same elegance of Latin composition that distinguished the other members of the Neapolitan academy. Cariteo denominates him

“ Pardo insigne, e chiaro,

“ Per gemino idioma al mondo altero.”

Contra i malevoli.

(b) His works were published at Florence, 1497, under the title of *Hymni et Epigrammata Marulli*, 4to. The commendations bestowed upon him by the younger Beroaldo, are highly honourable both to the Greek and Italian, whose countrymen were too often jealous of the reputation of the eastern fugitives. “ Ille homo transmarinus nostrates
“ versu provocavit; atque in hoc stadio ita enituit, ut cum
“ quolibet non suæ modo ætatis vati, sed etiam antiquorum
“ conferri possit. Epigrammata scripsit, quibus humanos
“ affectus, mores, actionesque, mire complexus est; excutis
“ jucunda lepidè, gravia severè, mœsta flebiliter,
“ taxanda mordaciter, grandia audacter, sententiosa sapi-
“ enter;

Of this numerous catalogue it is but justice to observe, that there is scarcely an individual who has not, by the labours of the sword or of the pen, entitled himself to the notice of the biographer, and the approbation of posterity. Nor would it be difficult to make considerable additions to it, if the foregoing account were not amply sufficient to demonstrate the ardour and success with which polite letters were cultivated at Naples, under the princes of the house of Aragon.(a)

CHAR
II.

A. D. 1492.
A. M. 27.

I 2

Next

"enter; omniaque hæc pari ingenio. Hymnos vero primus apud Romanos, et eo quidem spiritu conscripsit, ut ab ipsis Diis quos celebravit, quodam numine afflatus esse videatur." *Beroald. Ep. ad Herm. Bentivolum. in Op. Godri Urcei. p. 285.*

(a) To this enumeration of the Neapolitan poets, at the close of the fifteenth century, I must, however, be allowed to add the name of *Fillenio Gallo*, of Montesano; of whose writings a MS. copy, of this period, is in my possession. *Paullo Giovio*, who, with a laudable curiosity, collected the portraits of many of the eminent men of his own, and preceding times, enumerates at the close of the first book of his *Elogii*, the names of several distinguished persons, of whom he had already obtained portraits, and whose characters he intended for his second book—"che essendo ancora in vita, godono l'eccelsa gloria de' lor secondi ingegni." Among these, he enumerates *Phylandro Gallo*, who may, perhaps,

CHAP.
IIA. D. 1482.
A. E. 11.State of li-
terature in
Ferrara.

Next to the cities of Naples and Florence, perhaps no place in Italy had fairer pretensions to literary eminence than Ferrara. During the whole of the fifteenth century the family of Este, who had held the sovereignty of that place for many generations, had displayed an invariable attention to the cause of letters; and had rewarded their professors with a munificence that attracted them from all parts of Italy, and rendered Ferrara a flourishing theatre of science, and of arts. At the close of the century, that city, with its dependent states of Modena and Reggio, were under the government of Ercole I. the successor of Borso, whom the favour of the populace had preferred to his nephew Nicolo d'Este, the son of the celebrated Leonello. The succession to the sceptre of Ferrara, exhibits

perhaps, be presumed to be the same person who is above, and in his own writings, called *Fillenio*. With the exception of this doubtful reference, I find no account of this author in any of the records of Italian literature. That he lived towards the close of the fifteenth century, abundantly appears from his writings; which consist of Eclogues, Sonnets, Sestini, and other lyric compositions. His style approaches nearer to that of Serafino d'Aquila than any other author. In the Appendix to the present volume, may be found a specimen of his writings, none of which have before been printed, *v. App. No. XIX.*

CHAP.
II.A. D. 1498.
A. 22. 17.

exhibits indeed a striking instance of the disregard which was then paid to the laws generally established on that subject, and of the great attention bestowed on personal merit. By Ercole the University of Ferrara was maintained in high respectability; the library of his family was increased; a superb theatre was erected for the representation of dramatic performances, in which the first piece acted was the *Menachmus* of Plautus, which is said to have been translated into Italian for that purpose by the duke himself.(a)

When

(a) We learn from a Latin elegy of Battista Guarino, that the representation of this piece in the year 1486, attracted the attention, and excited the wonder, of all Italy. After describing the splendid preparations made for that purpose by the duke, he adverts to the great concourse of people which it induced to visit Ferrara—

- “ Venit et ad magnos populosa Bononia ludos,
 “ Et cum finitimis Mantua principibus;
 “ Euganeis junctæ properarunt collibus urbes,
 “ Quique bibunt lymphas, Arne vadose, tuas;
 “ Hinc plebs, hinc equites plauserunt, inde senatus,
 “ Hinc cum Virgineo nupta caterva choro.”

Pandolfo Collenuccio of Pesaro, who excelled not only as a professor of the civil law, but in other departments of literature, as appears from the correspondence between him and Politiano, (*Pol. Ep. lib. vii. Ep. 32. 35.*) produced

CHAR.
II.

A. D. 1498.
A. Ed. 17.

When such was the character of the sovereign, we shall not be surprized at the number of learned men who frequented his court, and who dignified his reign by the acknowledged excellence of their productions. (a) Not to dwell on the merits of Ottavio Cleofilo, Luca Riva, Lodovico Bigi, Tribraço Modonese, Lodovico Carro, and others, who cultivated Latin poetry with various success; the works of the two Strozzi, Tito Vespasiano, the father, and Ercole, the son, are alone sufficient to place Ferrara high in literary rank among the cities of Italy.

The two
Strozzi.

These distinguished Latin poets were of the illustrious family of the same name at Florence,

two dramatic pieces for the theatre of Ferrara. The *Andrione*, printed at Venice, 1530, and *Joseph*, in 1564. Girolamo Berardo, of Ferrara, the Count Matteo Maria Boiardo, and Battista Guarino, also exerted their talents on this occasion. v. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vi. 2. 187.

(a) A contemporary writer assures us, that poets were as plentiful in the city, as frogs in the territory, of Ferrara.

“ Nam tot Ferraria vates,
“ Quot ranas, tellus Ferrariensis, habet.”

Bartoli Pag. Prignani. ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.
vi. 2. 218.

CHAP.
II.A. D. 1402.
A. Æt. 17.

Florence, whence Nanna Strozzi, the father of Tito, passed to Ferrara in the military service of Niccolo III. in which he acquired great honour. (a) The rank, the talents, and the learning of Tito, rendered him a fit person to negotiate the affairs of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, with foreign powers, and he was accordingly employed as his ambassador on several important missions. He also occasionally held some of the first offices in the state; in the execution of which he appears to have incurred, at times, no small share of popular odium. In the midst, however, of the occupations and storms of his public life, he cultivated his talents for Latin poetry with unremitting attention, and has even endeavoured to render his compositions the vehicle of his justification to posterity. (b) The writings of Tito are distinguished by their simplicity

(a) *Tit. Vesp. Strozzi Epitaph. pro Nanne patre, in op. 145.*

(b) The scholars of the fifteenth century thought it as necessary to have an adversary, on whom they might lavish their abuse, as a mistress, to whom they might address their amorous effusions. The satirical talents of Tito are directed against some person, whom he denominates Gorellus, and who, if we may credit the poet,

“ civilibus

CHAP.
II.A. D. 1498.
A. Æt. 17.

plicity, and purity of diction, rather than by their strength of sentiment, or energy of style.(a) In some of his pieces he has celebrated the antiquity of his family, and the opulence and achievements of his ancestors; whilst in others, he has taken occasion to acquaint posterity with some particulars of his own life and character. Ercole Strozzi stands yet higher in the annals of literature, than his father. Eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, he had not neglected the cultivation of his own, in which he wrote with uncommon elegance. By his fellow-citizen, Celio Calcagnini, he is celebrated for his integrity,

“ civilibus armis

“ Expulsum patria, jam quatuor exulat annos,
 “ Damnatus Romæ furti, se carcere fracto
 “ Eripuisse cruci fertur, Senamque profectus,
 “ Dum cauti, atque manu prompti Lenonis, amicam
 “ Pollicitus maria ac montes, abducere tentat,
 “ Turpiter amisit, truncatis naribus, aures.”

He afterwards enters into a justification of his public conduct. *v. Serm. ad. Bonav. Pistophilum. Op. 142.*

(a) We are informed by Tiraboschi, that many unpublished poems of this distinguished scholar remain in the ducal library at Modena “ ed alcune assai più eleganti di quelle, che han vedute la luce.” *Storia della Let. Ital. vi. par. ii. p. 209.*

CHAP.
II.A. D. 1492.
Æ. Et. 17.

tegrity, his magnanimity, and his filial piety; and for all those qualities which endear a man to his friends, and to his country.(a) A short time before his death, Tito Strozzi had begun a Latin poem, in praise of Borso d'Este, of which he had completed ten books, and which he requested his son to finish and publish, with a correct edition of his other poems; but Ercole did not survive long enough, either to complete the task imposed upon him, by the publication of his father's writings, or to correct his own; having been assassinated in the year 1508, and in the prime of life, by a nobleman who had unsuccessfully paid his addresses to the lady whom Ercole had married.(b) That task was therefore intrusted by Guido and Lorenzo, his surviving brothers, to the celebrated printer, Aldo Manuzio, who
in

(a) *Calcagnini, Oratio in Funere Herculis Strozziæ, in fine Stroz. Op. p. 148.*

(b) In one of his elegies, *lib. i. p. 69.* he seems not to have been without apprehensions of his untimely fate; after indulging in the idea that his mistress would lament his death, he adds—

“ Sed jam summa venit fatis urgentibus hora,

“ Ah! nec amica mihi, nec mihi mater adest;

“ Altera ut ore legat properæ suspiria vitæ,

“ Altera uti condat lumina, et ossa tegat.”

CHAP. II. in the year 1513, gave these poems to the public in an elegant and correct edition.

A. D. 1492.

A. Æt. 17.

Boiardo. In enumerating the learned men, who at this time resided in the state of Ferrara, it would be unpardonable to omit another accomplished scholar, and celebrated poet, who died in the year 1494, and who will not therefore occur again to our particular notice. The eminent Matteo Maria Boiardo, count of Scandiano, was born in the territory of Ferrara, about the year 1430, and spent in that city the chief part of his life, honoured with the favour and friendship of Borso, and Ercole d'Este, and frequently intrusted by them, as governor of the subordinate cities in their dominion.(a) Boiardo is principally known by his epic romance, of *Orlando Innamorato*, of which the yet more celebrated poem of Ariosto,

(a) In particular, he held the chief command for several years at Reggio, where he died, on the twentieth day of February, 1494; as appears by a MS. chronicle of his contemporary, Bernardino de' Zambotti, cited by Mazzuchelli. —“A di 20, Febbraro il Magnifico Conte Matteo Maria Bojardo, Signor di Scandiano, Capitano di Reggio, e della Cittadella, morì in Reggio, il quale era valente uomo, e dotto in versi, in prosa, e in rima; faceto, cauto, e sapientissimo; molto diletto al Duca nostro, e a tutta la casa d'Este.” &c. *Scrittori d' Ital.* v. v. p. 1438.

CHAP.
II.A. D. 1492.
A. Et. 17.

Ariosto is not only an imitation, but a continuation. Of this work, he did not live to complete the third book, nor is it probable that any part of it had the advantage of his last corrections; yet it is justly regarded as exhibiting, upon the whole, a warmth of imagination, and a vivacity of colouring, which render it highly interesting; (a) nor is it perhaps without reason, that the simplicity of the original has occasioned it to be preferred to the same work, as altered or reformed by Francesco Berni, who has carried the marvellous to such an extreme, as to deprive his narrative of all pretensions to even poetic probability, and by his manifest attempts to be always jocular, has too often destroyed the effects of his jocularity. (b)

Less

(a) The *Orlando Innamorato* was first printed in Scandiano, per Pellegrino Pasquali, ad istanza del Conte Camillo Boiardo, son of the author, about the year 1495, and afterwards in Venice, about the year 1500; which latter De Bure erroneously cites as the first edition, *Bib. Instr. No. 3377*. The labours of Boiardo had terminated at the ninth canto of the third book, from which period, it was continued by Niccolo degli Agostini; and of this joint production, numerous editions have been published.

(b) Besides the *rifacimento* of this poem by Berni, of which

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Less known, but not less valuable, than his epic poem, are the three books of sonnets, and lyric pieces, by Boiardo, collected and published after his death, under the Latin title of *Amores*,^(a) although wholly consisting of Italian poems. When it is considered, that the greater part of these pieces were written at a time when the Tuscan poetry was in its lowest state of debasement, we may justly be surprized at the choice of expression which they frequently display, and the purity of style by which they are almost invariably characterized. At the request of his great patron, Ercole, duke of Ferrara, Boiardo also composed

which the best editions are those of Calvo, Milan, 1542, and the Giunti, Venice, 1545; the poem was corrected and altered by Lodovico Dominichi, and published at Venice, by Girelaimo Scotto, in 1545, and several times afterwards.

(a) Printed at Reggio, per Maestro Francesco Mazolo, in 1499, and at Venice, per Sessa, in 1501, 4to. "Rarissime sono amendue queste edizioni," says Mazzuchelli. v. p. 1443.—Besides this volume, Boiardo is the author of *Cinque Capitoli in terza rima sopra il Timore, la Gelosia, la Speranza, l' Amore, ed il Trionfo del vano mondo*; which have been frequently printed, with other detached poems by Benivieni and the cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, of which editions it may be sufficient to cite that of Venice, by Nicolo d' Aristotele, detto Zoppino, 1537.

composed his comedy of *Timons*, founded on one of the dialogues of Lúcian.(a) Nor was Boiardo only one of the most eminent poets, he was also one of the most learned men of his age. From the Greek, he translated into his native tongue, the history of Herodotus,(b) and the *Asinus* of Lucian.(c) Of his Latin poetry, many specimena yet remain, and Tiraboschi has mentioned ten eclogues, in that language, inscribed to Ercole I. which are preserved in the ducal library of Modena, and which, as he assures us, are full of grace and elegance.(d)

At

(a) First printed without note of date, or place, afterwards in Scandiano, 1500, Venice, 1504, &c. "Questa "Commedia," says Mazzuchelli, "che è in terza rima, di-
"visa in cinque atti, è degna di stima per quanto portava quel
"secolo; ed ha poi un pregio distinto, cioè, d'essere con-
"siderata la più antica delle Commedie Italiane, comechè
"il Crescimbeni la ponga piuttosto nella specie delle
"Farse." *Scrittori d' Italia*, v. 1443.

(b) Frequently re-printed after the first edition of Venice, 1533.

(c) Printed at Venice with the *Proverbj* of Antonio Cornazzano, by Zoppino, 1523, 8vo. Several other works of Boiardo are cited by the indefatigable Mazzuchelli, *ut sup.*

(d) *Tirab. Storia della Letter. Ital.* vii. par. i. 176.

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Ariosto.

At this time the celebrated Ariosto, who was destined to build his immortal work upon the foundation laid by Boiardo, was only eighteen years of age; (a) but even at this early period, he had exhibited that strong inclination to the cultivation of literature, and particularly of poetry, which distinguished him to the close of his days, and the story of *Thisbe*, as adapted by him to a dramatic form, was represented by himself, with his brothers and sisters, in his father's residence. (b) He was first destined to the study of the law; but after five years of irksome and unprofitable labour, he finally quitted that occupation, and applied himself to the cultivation of the Latin language, under the instructions of Gregory of Spoleto. (c) His predilection for theatrical

(a) His father, Niccolò di Rinaldo Ariosto, was a nobleman of Ferrara. In a passport granted to him in the year 1471, by Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, he is honoured with the title of Count, and denominated the friend of the Marquis. *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. par. iii. 100. Lodovico was born in the year 1474, at the Castle of Reggio, of which place his father was governor.

(b) *Figura, i Romanzi.* p. 72.

(c) " Ahi lasso, quando ebbi al Pegaseo mele
 " L'età disposta, e che le fresche guancie
 " Non si vedeano ancor fiorir d'un pelo,

" Mio

theatrical compositions, which he had further displayed in his two comedies, entitled *La Cassaria*, and *I Suppositi*, both written in prose, whilst he was very young, (a) probably recommended him to the notice of Ercole I. whom he accompanied in the year 1491, to Milan, for the purpose of enjoying the theatrical amusements by which that place was distinguished. From this time he devoted himself to the service of the family of Este, either in the court of the duke, or in that of the cardinal Ippolito, and will occur to our future notice, not only as a poet, but as engaged in the political transactions of the times.

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The

" Mio padre mi cacciò con spiedi e lanciae

" Non che con sproni, a volger testi e chiose,

" E m'occupò cinque anni in quelle ciancie."

Ariost. Sat. 6.

" Fortuna molto mi fu allora amica,

" Che mi offerse Gregorio da Spoleti,

" Che ragion vuol che sempre io benedica.

" Tenea d'ambe le lingue i bei secreti," &c.

Ibid.

(a) They were afterwards altered into *versi sdruccioli*, by Ariosto, and have been frequently printed, as well separately, as together with his other works.

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Cieco.

The city of Ferrara may indeed be considered as the cradle of modern epic poetry ;(a) for besides the two celebrated authors before mentioned, that place might at this time have boasted of a third, whose writings not only obtained for him, during his life-time, a great share of celebrity, but have afforded passages which have since been imitated by the immortal Tasso.(b) Of their author, Francesco Cieco, very few particulars are known. That he had enjoyed the favour of the Cardinal Ippolito, and was therefore, in all probability, a native of Ferrara, may be inferred from the dedication of his epic poem, of *Mambriano*, published by his surviving relation, Eliseo Conosciuti, in the year 1509.

(a) "In a period of near three thousand years," says Mr. Gibbon, adverting to the works of Ariosto and Tasso, in his antiquities of the House of Brunswick, "five great epic poets have arisen in the world; and it is a singular prerogative, that two of the five should be claimed as their own, by a short age, and a petty state."

(b) Zeno, *note al Fontanini*, i. 259. where he conjectures, that this work was written about the time of the descent of Charles VIII. to the conquest of Naples, in 1494. It is entitled *Libro d'arme e d'amore, cognominato Mambriano, di Francesco Cieco da Ferrara. Ferraria; per Joannem Baciochum Mondenum, 20 Octobris, 1509, 4to.*

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1509.(a) This piece, which extends to forty-five cantos, relates the adventures of a king of Asia, whose name forms the title of the work. That it long maintained its rank with the great contemporary productions of Italy, is sufficiently apparent; and the neglect which it has in later times experienced, is attributed by Zeno, to its not having had the good fortune, like the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, to meet with any one to continue its subject, or to reform its style.

Few persons enjoyed at this period a higher share of literary reputation, than Nicolo Lelio Cosmico, and few persons have so effectually lost that reputation in the estimation of posterity. He is not even enumerated by the diligent Crescimbeni as one of the poets of Italy; yet three editions of his works were printed in the fifteenth century,(b) and he is the frequent

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(a) "Prego che sotto il suo auspizio, Mambriano del servitore suo venga impresso, e per suo solito benignitate non neghi alla memoria d'esso Francescho quel favore, di che vivendo lui, quelle tante volte gli fu liberalissimo."

(b) Quadrio enumerates only two editions, *Ven.* 1478, and *Vicenza* 1481; but besides these, another edition of the fifteenth century, appears in the catalogue of the Pinelli library.

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Niccolò Le-
lio Cosmi-
co.

quent subject of applause among the most distinguished scholars of the time.(a) He was a native of Padua, and spent some of his early years in the court of the marquis of Mantua; but the chief part of his life was passed in the society of the scholars of Ferrara. His own compositions were principally Italian; but he also aspired to the reputation of a Latin poet; and Giraldi, a judicious critic, whilst he censures the arrogant and satirical disposition of the author, acknowledges the merit of his writings. The freedom of his opinions, or of his conduct, incurred the notice of the Inquisition; but the interference of Lodovico Gonzaga,

(a) Sabellicus, inviting his poetical contemporaries to celebrate the nativity of the Virgin, addresses himself to Cosmico—

“Nec decantati toties remorentur amores

“Te, mihi sed cultam, Cosmice, tende chelyn.”

He is also enumerated by Platina, in his treatise *De honesta voluptate*, or art of Cookery, among his temperate friends. *Lib. v. Cap. i.* And Giacomo delle Pellinere, Professor in Medicine and Moral Philosophy at Padua, has apostrophized him in an epistle in terza rima, addressed to Pamfilo Sasso—

“Cosmico, dove sei, col soave archetto?”

zaga, not only protected him in this emergency, but has conferred an illustrious testimony on the character of a writer, who is now no longer estimated from his own works.(a)

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The attention paid by the family of Este to the promotion of literature, was emulated by that of the Gonzaghi, marquisses of Mantua, and the Montefeltri, dukes of Urbino. The intercourse which subsisted between these families, and which was founded on an union of political interests, and confirmed by the ties of consanguinity, gave indeed a common character to their courts. Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, married Isabella of Este, the daughter of Ercole I. duke of Ferrara; and Elizabetta, the sister of the marquis, became the wife of Guidubaldo da Montefeltri, duke of Urbino.

Federigo, the father of Guidubaldo, had rendered his name illustrious throughout
x 2 Italy,

Guidubaldo
da Monte-
feltri, duke
of Urbino.

(a) In recommending Cosmico to the favour of his relation, Antonio da Bolza, Lodovico denominates him "Uomo virtuoso, ed existimato per tutta Italia."

Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vi. par. ii. p. 225.

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Italy, not only as a distinguished patron of learning, but by his military and political talents. In the rugged situation in which the city of Urbino is placed, he had erected a palace, which was esteemed one of the finest structures in Italy, and had furnished it in the most sumptuous manner, with vases of silver, rich draperies of gold and silk, and other rare and splendid articles. To these he had added an extensive collection of statues and busts, in bronze and marble, and of the most excellent pictures of the times; but the pride of his palace, and the envy of his contemporary princes, was the superb and copious selection of books, in the Greek, Latin, and other languages, with which he had adorned his library, and which he enriched with ornaments of silver and of gold.^(a) If, however, the father was an admirer and a protector of literature, the son united to these characters that of a practical and accurate scholar. With the Latin language, we are told, he was as conversant as others are with their native tongue, and so intimate was his knowledge of the Greek, that he was acquainted with its minutest peculiarities, and its most refined elegancies.

(a) Castiglione, *lib. del. Cortegiano*, *lib. i.*

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elegancies. The love of study did not, however, extinguish in the bosom of Guidubaldo, that thirst for military glory, by which his ancestors had been uniformly characterized ; and if his health had not been impaired by the gout, at an early period of his life, he would probably have acquired, in the commotions which soon after this period disturbed the repose of Italy, a still higher reputation. In his biographers and panegyrists he has been peculiarly fortunate ; the learned Pietro Bembo has devoted a considerable tract to the celebration of his merits,^(a) and Baldassare Castiglione, in his admirable *Libro del Cortegiano*, has honoured his memory with an eulogium, which will probably be as durable as the Italian language itself. His wife, Elizabetta Gonzaga, is not less the subject of admiration and applause to both these authors ; the latter of whom has, in the commencement of his work, given a striking picture of the vivacity, the taste, the elegance, the tempered wit, and decorous freedom, by which the court of Urbino

was

(a) *P. Bembo de Guido-Ubaldo Feretrio, deque Elisabetha Gonzaga Urbini ducibus, liber.* First printed at Venice, under the inspection of the author, in 1530.

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was at this period distinguished. (a) Giovanna, sister of the duke, had intermarried, in the year 1475, with Giovanni della Rovere, one of the nephews of Sixtus IV. and brother of the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II. on which occasion, Sixtus had invested his nephew with the principality of Sinigaglia, and the beautiful territory of Mondavia. By him she had a son, Francesco Maria, who was educated at the court of Urbino, and succeeded his maternal uncle Guidubaldo, whom he, however, resembled much more in his military character, than in his literary accomplishments.

Francesco
Gonzaga,
marquis of
Mantua.

Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, had succeeded his father, Federigo, in the year 1484. Notwithstanding the many hazardous expeditions in which he was engaged, the numerous battles in which he held a principal command, and the adverse fortune which he on some occasions experienced, he found time to apply himself to the study of polite letters; and

(a) The union of the duke and duchess of Urbino was not crowned with the expected fruits of marriage, the reasons of which are detailed at great length by Bembo, in *Op. v. iv. p. 299.*

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and there is reason to believe, that he was the author of many sonnets, capitoli, and other verses, which have been printed in the collections of the ensuing century. His wife, Isabella of Este, was not less distinguished by her elegant accomplishments and refined taste, which led her to collect antique statues, cameos, medallions, and other specimens of art, some of which are celebrated in the verses of the poets of the time.(a) Nor was the court of Mantua deprived of those honours, which the favour of the muses could alone confer. Among the men of talents, who either adopted that place as their constant residence, or enlivened it by their frequent visits,

(a) *V. Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. par. i. 53. Ariosto has devoted several stanzas in his 37th Canto to the celebration of the praises of the marquis, and Isabella of Este, his wife :

“ Di lei degno egli, e degna ella di lui;
“ Nè meglio s'accoppiaro unq' altri dui.”

Stan. 11

That the marquis was distinguished by his literary productions may be conjectured from the following lines :

“ Dà insieme egli materia, ond' altri scriva,
“ E fa la gloria altrui scrivendo viva.”

Stan. 10.

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visits, Giampietro Arrivabene, and Battista Mantuano, are entitled to particular notice.

The former of these eminent men, was the scholar of Francesco Filelfo, who has addressed to him several of his letters, and who transformed his Italian name of Arrivabene, into the Greek appellation of *Euty chius*. That he enjoyed the confidential office of Latin secretary to the marquis Francesco, might be thought to confer sufficient honour on his memory; but he was also a man of blameless manners, uncommon eloquence, and a considerable share of learning. His principal work is his *Gonzagidos*, a Latin poem in four books, in praise of Lodovico, marquis of Mantua, who died in 1478, and not in 1484, as mentioned by Mazzuchelli. From this work, which is said to be written in a much more elegant style, than from his early age might have been expected, it appears, that the author had been present at many of the victories and transactions which he there relates.(a)

Battista

(a) This poem was first printed by Meuschenius, in the beginning of the third volume of his collection, entitled *Vita summorum dignitate et eruditione virorum*.—Coburg, 1738. In the preface, the editor observes, that the poem
is

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Battista
Mantuanus.

Battista Mantuano may be enumerated among those writers who have had the good fortune to obtain, for a long time, a reputation superior to their merits.(a) The applause which his works excited was not confined to Italy, but extended throughout Europe, where, under the name of *Mantuanus*, or Mantuan, he was considered as another Virgil, whose writings might stand in competition with those of his immortal countryman. Nor can it be denied, that the productions of Battista evince a facility of conception, and a flow of language, which prove him to have been possessed of considerable talents. But in admitting that the native endowments of Battista might bear some comparison with those of his great predecessor, we are compelled to acknowledge,

is written "elegantiori modo, quam a sua adhuc inculta ætate vix aliquis expectare poterat." *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital.* ii. 1138. *Tirab.* vi. 2. 230.

(a) It is generally believed that Battista was of illegitimate birth; but the attention paid by his father, Pietro Spagnuolo, to his improvement, enabled him not only to make an early and considerable proficiency in polite literature, but to arrive at the rank of general of his order. Respecting the circumstances of his birth, different opinions have however been entertained, which the reader will find fully stated in the *Menagiana*, vol. i. p. 273.

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knowledge, that he was strangely defective in the method of employing his abilities to the best advantage. Of all authors, there are perhaps few, or none, who have been less satisfied with their own productions, than the Roman bard. However we may estimate the powers of his imagination, or the melody of his verse, his taste was still superior to his other accomplishments; and his efforts were unremitting, to arrive at that standard of perfection, which he had conceived in his own mind.(a) It is well known, that after having bestowed the labour of twelve years on his immortal poem, the conviction which he felt of its imperfections determined him, in his last moments, to order it to be committed to the flames; and it was only by a breach of his solemn testamentary injunction, that this work
has

(a) "Amici, familiaresque P. Virgilii, dicere eum solitum ferunt, parere se versus more atque ritu ursino. Namque, ut illa bestia fœtum ederet ineffigiatum informemque, lambendoque id postea, quod ita edidisset, conformaret et fingeret, proinde ingenii quoque sui partus rectes rudi esse facie et imperfecta: sed deinceps tractando, colendoque, reddere iis se oris et vultus lineamenta." *Aul. Gel. lib. xvii. cap. 10.*

has been preserved for the admiration of posterity. (a) To the conduct of the ancient poet, that of the modern, was an exact reverse; and if they originally started from the same ground, they bent their course in opposite directions. Of the productions of Battista, the earliest are incomparably the best, and as these seem to have gratified his readers, so it is probable they delighted himself. As he advanced in years, he poured out his effusions with increasing facility, until he lost even the power of discriminating the merit of his own productions. From his long poem, *De Calamitatibus temporum*, the historian might hope to select some passages, which might elucidate his researches; but in this he will be disappointed; the adherence of Battista to the track of the ancients, having prevented him from entering into those particulars, which would have rendered his works interesting; whilst the heavy commentary in which they have

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(a) " Divus Augustus carmina Virgilii cremari contra
" testamenti ejus verecundiam vetuit; majusque ita vati tes-
" timonium contigit, quam si ipse sua carmina probavisset."
Plin. lib. vii. cap. 30. P. Crinitus, *De Poetis Latinis, lib.*
iii. in op. p. 447. has cited a beautiful copy of verses ad-
dressed to Augustus on this subject.

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have been enveloped, by Radius Ascenscius, presents them in so formidable an aspect to the modern reader, as fully to account for that neglect, which they have for a long time past experienced.

Lodovico
Sforza en-
courage
men of ta-
lents.

The tranquillity which had now for some years reigned in Italy, had introduced into that country an abundance, a luxury, and a refinement, almost unexampled in the annals of mankind. Instead of contending for dominion and power, the sovereigns and native princes of that happy region, attempted to rival each other in taste, in splendor, and in elegant accomplishments; and it was considered as essential to their grandeur, to give their household establishments a literary character. Hence their palaces became a kind of polite academy, in which the nobility of both sexes found a constant exercise for their intellectual talents; and courage, rank, and beauty, did not hesitate to associate with taste, with learning, and with wit. In this respect, the court of Milan was eminently distinguished. By the ostentatious liberality of Lodovico Sforza, who then held, in the name of his nephew Galeazzo, but directed at his own pleasure, the government of that place, several of the most distinguished artists and scholars

scholars of the time, were induced to fix their residence there. Among the former of these, the celebrated Lionardo da Vinci deservedly holds the most conspicuous place. This extraordinary man, who united in himself the various qualifications of a painter, a sculptor, a poet, a musician, an architect, and a geometrician, and who in short, left untouched very few of those objects, which have engaged the attention of the human faculties, was born about the year 1443, at the castle of Vinci in Valdarno. After having given striking indications of superior talents, he for some time availed himself of the instructions of Andrea Verocchio, whom he soon surpassed in such a degree, as to render him dissatisfied with the efforts of his own pencil. His singular productions in every branch of art, had already excited the admiration of all Italy, when he was invited by Lodovico, in the year 1492, to fix his residence at Milan. By his astonishing skill in music, which he performed on a kind of lyre of his own invention, and by his extraordinary facility as an *Improvvisatore*, in the recitation of Italian verse, no less than by his professional talents, he secured the favour of his patron, and the applauses of the Milanese court. Lodovico had,

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Lionardo
da Vinci.

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had, however, the judgment to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him by this great artist, to enrich the city of Milan with some of the finest productions of his pencil ; and if the abilities of Lionardo were to be estimated by a single effort, his panegyrist might perhaps select his celebrated picture of the last supper, in the refectory of the Dominicans, as the most valuable of his works. In this piece it was doubtless the intention of the painter to surpass whatever had before been executed, and to represent, not merely the external form and features, but the emotions and passions of the mind, from the highest degree of virtue and beneficence in the character of the Saviour, to the extreme of treachery and guilt in that of Iscariot ; whilst the various sensations of affection and veneration, of joy, and of sorrow, of hope, and of fear, displayed in the countenances and gestures of the disciples, might express their various apprehensions of the mysterious rite. In the midst sits the great founder, dispensing with unshaken firmness, from either hand, the emblems of his own approaching sufferings. The agitation of the disciples is marked by their contrasted attitudes, and various expressions. Treachery and inhumanity seem to be centered

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centered in the form and features of Judas Iscariot. In representing the countenance of Christ, he found, however, the powers of the artist inadequate to the conceptions of his own mind. To step beyond the limits of earth, and to diffuse over these features a ray of divinity, was his bold, but fruitless attempt. The effort was often renewed, and as often terminated in disappointment and humiliation. Despairing of success, he disclosed his anxiety to his friend and associate, Bernardo Zenale, who advised him to desist from all further endeavours; in consequence of which, this great work was suffered to remain imperfect. Nor did Lionardo, in acknowledging with Timanthes, the inefficacy of his skill, imitate that artist in the method which he adopted on that occasion. Agamemnon conceals his face in his robe, and the imagination of the spectator is at liberty to supply the defect; but in marking the head of his principal figure by a simple outline, Lionardo openly avows his inability, and leaves us only to regret, either the pusillanimity of the painter, or the impotence of his art.(a)

In

(a) *Vasari, in vita di Lionardo. Borghini, il Riposo, 368, & seq.* Notwithstanding the assertions of the above authors,

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Eminent
scholars at
the court of
Milan.

In a mind devoted to ambition, all other passions and pursuits are only considered as auxiliary to its great object; and there is too much reason to suspect, that the apparent solicitude of Lodovico Sforza for the promotion of letters and the arts, was not so much the result of a disposition sincerely interested in their success, as an instrument of his political aggrandizement. That the supplanting the elder branch of his family, and vesting in

authors, and that of M. Mariette in later times, *Lettere sulla Pittura*, &c. vol. ii. let. 84. that Lionardo left the head of Christ in an unfinished state, Richardson assures us, that their information is false, and that such part of the face as yet remains intire, is highly finished, *Traité de la peinture*, &c. vol. iii. The account given by Richardson is, in like manner, accused of being grossly incorrect, by the author of a modern description of Italy, in 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1781. As it can scarcely be imagined, that any of these authors would be guilty of wilful misrepresentation on a subject of such a nature, and in which their testimony would be always exposed to contradiction, may we not reasonably suppose that, according to the united testimony of all the elder writers, the head was left unfinished; but that in the course of the repairs which the picture has undergone, some sacrilegious hand has dared to trace those features, from which the modest genius of Lionardo shrunk in despair? This suggestion appears highly probable from the notes on the *Lettere sulla Pittura*, &c. vol. ii. p. 183.

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in himself and his descendants, the government of Milan, had long been in his contemplation, cannot be doubted; and it is therefore highly probable that, after ingratiating himself with the populace, and securing the alliance and personal friendship of foreign powers, he would endeavour to strengthen his authority by the favour and support of men of learning, who at this time possessed a more decided influence on the political concerns of the country than at any other period. But by whatever motives Lodovico was actuated, it is allowed, that whilst the state of Milan was under his control, the capital was thronged with celebrated scholars, several of whom adopted it as their permanent residence. On Bernardo Bellincione, a Florentine, he conferred the title of his poet laureat; and in the works of this author, printed at Milan in 1493, are inserted some stanzas which have been attributed to Lodovico himself. Among those who at this period contributed by their talents to give splendor to the court of Milan, were Antonio Cornazzano, (a) Giovanni Filoteo Achilini,

(a) A native of Piacenza, who, having adopted a military life, held a respectable rank under the celebrated Venetian general

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CHAP. lini,(a) Gasparo Visconti,(b) Benedetto da
II. Cingoli,

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neral Bartolommeo Cogliioni, of whom he has left a life, written in Latin, and published by Burman; but a great part of his time was passed at Milan, where he was highly favoured by the family of Sforza. His works, both in Italian and Latin, in verse and in prose, are very numerous, and his poem *De re Militari*, in nine books, in *terza rima*, has frequently been printed. His sonnets and lyric pieces, are however considered as the most valuable of his works, and are acknowledged by Quadrio to be among the best in the Italian language—"delle migliori che abbia la volgar poesia."—In the latter part of his life he quitted the court of Milan for that of Ferrara, where he terminated his days; having enjoyed the patronage of the duchess Lucrezia, of whom he makes frequent and honourable mention in his works. *Cornazzano, de re militari. Ven. 1526. Sonetti e Canz. Ven. 1508. Tiraboschi vi. par. ii. p. 160.*

(a) Author of an Italian poem in *ottava rima*, entitled, *Il Viridario*, printed at Bologna; 1513, and of several other works. He also distinguished himself by his knowledge of Greek and Latin, his proficiency in music, and his acquaintance with medals, statues, and other monuments of antiquity, of which he had formed a large collection. He died in 1538, at 72 years of age; but his poetry, of which specimens appear in sundry collections, has all the characteristic rusticity of the 15th century, when, says Crescimbeni, "andò spargendo gemme tra'l fango."

(b) A nobleman of Milan, who married Cecilia, the daughter of the celebrated Cecco Simoneta, and died at 38 years

Cingoli, Vincenzo Calmeta,^(a) and Antonio Fregoso.^(b) Nor were there wanting distinguished

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years of age, in 1499. His sonnets and other verses were published at Milan in 1493, and obtained him such reputation, that he was considered, for a time, as not inferior to Petrarca; but posterity has formed a different judgment. *Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 253.*

(a) Benedetto da Cingoli, and Vincenzo Calmeta, are enumerated by Quadrio, II. 211. among the poets who at this time honoured the city of Milan by their residence, and whose verses are found in the collections of the times. The works of the former were also collected and published with those of his brother, Gabriello, at Rome, in 1503. *Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 159.*

(b) Called also *Fulgoso* and *Campofregoso*. From his love of solitude, he also assumed the name of *Phileremo*. His chief residence was at the court of Milan, which he quitted on the expulsion of Lodovico Sforza, and retired to his villa at Colterano. His *Cerva Bianca*, is an Italian poem of considerable extent, written with great facility, and occasionally interspersed with beautiful description, and genuine poetry. For his adoption of the *ottava rima* he apologizes by the example of Lorenzo de' Medici, and Agnolo Politiano. This poem has been several times reprinted; particularly at Venice, 1521, 1525. The first of these editions is entitled *Opera nova del magnifico Cavaliero Messer Antonio Phileremo Fregoso, intitulata CERVA BIANCHA*. His *Dialogo di Fortuna*, consists of 18 *capitoli*, in *terza rima*, Ven. 1531. Besides these, he is also the author of another poem, *Il riso di Democrito, e il pianto d' Eraclito*, in 30 *Capitoli*; but this work has hitherto eluded my researches.

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stinguished scholars in the graver departments of literature; of which number were Bartolomeo Calchi and Giacopo Antiquario, celebrated not only for their own acquirements, but for their liberality in promoting the improvement of others; Donato Bossi, commemorated both as an eminent professor of law, and an industrious historian; (a) Dionysius Nestor, whose early labours highly contributed to the improvement of the Latin tongue; (b) and Pontico Virunio, deservedly held

(a) His chronicle of the principal events, from the earliest records to his own times, is of occasional use, particularly with respect to the affairs of Milan. This work was printed at Milan in 1492, by Antonio Zaroti, and is dedicated to the reigning duke Giovan-Galeazzo; not however without great commendations of Lodovico, whose *loyalty* and *fidelity* the author particularly celebrates.

(b) He was a native of Novara, and a descendant of the noble family of Avvenada, of the order of the Minorites. His vocabulary of the Latin tongue, printed in folio at Milan, in 1493, and afterwards at Venice 1488, may be considered as one of the first attempts in modern times to facilitate the study of that language, and displays an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, which are diligently cited as authorities throughout the work. To the earliest edition is prefixed a copy of Latin verses addressed to Lodovico Sforza, and towards the close are several poems of the same author, both Italian and Latin. The following colophon concludes the book:

Opus

held in great esteem, both as a scholar and a statesman.

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The Bentivogli of Bologna.

From the commencement of the century, the city of Bologna had endeavoured to maintain its independence against the superior power of the dukes of Milan, and the continual pretensions of the pontifical see. The chiefs of the noble family of Bentivoglio were regarded by their fellow citizens as the patrons and assertors of their liberties, and after various struggles, in which they had frequently been expelled from their native place, they concentrated in themselves the supreme authority, under limitations which secured to the people the exercise of their ancient rights. This authority had now, for nearly half a century, been conceded to Giovanni Bentivoglio, who was only two years of age when his father Annibale was treacherously murdered by the rival faction of the Canedoli, in the year 1445, and who frequently occurs to notice, both in the political

Opus Mediolani impressum per Leonardum Pachel et Uldericum Sinczenceler, de Alemannia Socios, Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXXXIII. pridie nonas Januarias.

The lines to Lodovico Sforza, which celebrate his importance and recount his exploits, from this rare work, are given in the Appendix, No. XX.

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A. Et. 17.A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 17.
A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 17.Codrus
Urceus.

tical and literary annals of the time:— The merit of Giovanni, as a friend and promoter of learning and of art, was however eclipsed by that of his three sons, Hermes, Annibale, and Galeazzo, all of whom are frequently commemorated in the writings of their contemporaries, and particularly in those of Antonio Urceo, usually denominated Codrus Urceus, who by his scientific and critical acquirements, deservedly held a high rank among the scholars of Italy.

This author was born at Rubiera, in the year 1446. His appellation of *Codrus* was derived from an incident that occurred to him at the city of Forli, where happening one day to meet with Pino degli Ordellaffi, then Lord of that place, who recommended himself to his favour, " Good heavens!" exclaimed the poet, " the world is in a pretty state when Jupiter recommends himself to " *Codrus*." During his residence at Forli, where he was intrusted with the education of Sinibaldo, the son of Pino, he met with a disaster which had nearly deprived him of his reason.(a) Having incautiously left his study

(a) Codrus survived both his patron and his pupil, the latter

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study without extinguishing his lamp, his papers took fire, by which many literary productions, which stood high in his own estimation, were destroyed; and particularly a poem entitled *Pastor*. In the first impulse of his passion he vented his rage in the most blasphemous imprecations, and rushing from the city, passed the whole day in a wood in the vicinity, without nutriment. Compelled by hunger to return in the evening, he found the gates closed. When he again obtained admission into the city, he shut himself up in the house of an artificer, where for six months he abandoned himself to melancholy and grief. After a residence of about thirteen years at Forli he was invited to Bologna, where he was appointed professor of grammar and eloquence, and where he passed in great

latter of whom was deprived of his territories by Girolamo Riario, in the year 1480, after his family had possessed them upwards of 150 years; and has devoted the following epitaph to their memory.

- " Tertius armorum pacis quoque gloria Pinus
- " Ordelaſphus, per quem nomina ſanguis habet.
- " Hic nati gremio Sinibaldi continet oſſa;
- " Oſſa ducem quinto menſe ſecuta patrem.
- " Equus uterque fuit princeps tibi, Livia, poſt queſ
- " Ordelaſphi ſceptris mox cecidere ſuis."

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great credit the remainder of his days. Of his extraordinary learning it might be considered as a sufficient proof, that Politiano submitted his Greek epigrams, and other writings, to his examination and correction; but his talents and acquirements more fully appear in his own works, which consist of *Sermones*, or essays; of letters to Politiano, Aldo, and others of his learned friends, and of poems on a great variety of subjects; among which the praises of the family of Bentivogli form the most conspicuous part. He died in the year 1500. After his death his productions were collected by the younger Filippo Beroaldo, who had lived with him in friendly intimacy, and published at Bologna in the year 1502, with a preface, in which he highly extols the poetical effusions of his friend. Succeeding critics have however been less indulgent to his fame; Giraldi, whilst he admits that the writings of Codrus are sufficiently correct, denies to them the charm of poetry, and Tiraboschi is of opinion, that neither his prose nor his verse can be recommended as models of elegance. That the poems of Codrus are not entitled to the highest rank among those of his contemporaries, will sufficiently appear from the lines addressed to Galeazzo Bentivoglio, as

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an acknowledgment for the honour done to the poet in placing his portrait amongst those of the learned men which Galeazzo had collected. Such a subject was certainly calculated to call forth all his powers, but those efforts which were intended to justify, will perhaps be thought rather to impeach the judgment of his patron.(a)

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Among the men of talents who at this period contributed to support the literary character of Italy, it would be unjust to omit Piero Ricci; or, as he denominated himself according to the custom of the times, *Petrus Crinitus*. This notice of him is the more necessary, as little is to be found respecting him in those works of general information, where he ought to have held a conspicuous rank, and that little is for the most part erroneous.(b) He was descended from the noble and opulent Florentine family of the *Ricci*,(c) and

*Petrus
Crinitus.*

(a) As the works of Codrus are not of common occurrence, this piece is given in the Appendix, No. XXI.

(b) The notices of Crinitus by Tiraboschi, founded on the equivocal testimony of Jovius and Negri, are peculiarly brief and unsatisfactory.

(c) Jovius, absurdly enough, informs us, that Piero derived

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and had the good fortune when young, to avail himself of the instructions, and to obtain the friendship of Politiano. Hence he was introduced into the family of the Medici, and became an associate in those literary and convivial meetings at the palace of the Medici in Florence, or at their different seats in the country, which he has himself occasionally celebrated in his writings.^(a) It is not therefore surprising, that on the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he honoured his memory in a Latin ode, which he addressed to Pico of Mirandula; but it is remarkable, that in this production (if indeed it was written at the time to which it relates) he has predicted in forcible terms the approaching calamities

derived his name from the curled locks of his father, *dall' intorta & inaquellata capillatura del padre*; but from whatever cause the family appellation might originally arise, it was of much greater antiquity than Jovius supposed. The Ricci being called by Negri, *Famiglia antichissima & nobilissima*. The latter author however, with no less absurdity than Jovius; adds, that Crinitus was, on account of his own curled locks (*arriciata bienda sua Capigliera*) called *Pietro di crispa chioma*, which he transformed into the Latin name of *Crinitus*. But it is apparent that this name is only his family appellation latinized.

(a) V. *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, ii. 140. 4to. ed.

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calamities of Italy,(a) After this event, Crinitus still continued to enjoy at Florence the society of Pico and of Politiano, till the death of these distinguished scholars, which happened within two months of each other, in the year 1494.(b) It may serve as an instance of the negligence with which literary memoirs are often written, and of the necessity of a more intimate acquaintance with the general history of the times, to notice some of the errors to which the Life of Crinitus has given rise. By one author we are informed, that after the death of Politiano, Crinitus was intrusted by Lorenzo de' Medici with the instruction of his children, and that this example was followed by the principal nobility of Florence, who rejoiced in having obtained such a successor to so accomplished a preceptor.(c) If this were true, Crinitus would

(a) At tu mœsta novis patria lachrymis
Indulge ; nec enim cernere adhuc potes
Quantum mox miseris civibus imminet
Fatorum gravis exitus.

Nania, de obitu Laur. Med. Grin. op. p. 529.

(b) Crinitus has also consecrated a Latin poem to the memory of each of his friends, *in. op. p. 532, 563.*

(c) " Quel gran Mecenati de' virtuosi, Lorenzo de'
" Medici, non dubitò confidare alla di lui direzione nelle
" lettere

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would be entitled to our more particular notice, as one of the early instructors of Leo X. but when we recollect, that at the time of the death of Politiano, Lorenzo had been dead upwards of two years, we are compelled to reject this information as wholly groundless. Another author, who was a contemporary with Crinitus, has however informed us, that at the death of Politiano, Crinitus continued to deliver instructions to the younger branches of the Medici family, and others of the Florentine nobility ;(a) forgetting that the Medici were, about the time of the death of Politiano, expelled from Florence, and became fugitives in different parts of Italy, where they could not avail themselves of the precepts of Crinitus, and where indeed they had other occupations than the studies of literature. It is

“ lettere i suoi figliuoli, dopo la morte del Poliziano; e fu
 “ seguitato il di lui esempio da tutta la nobile gioventù, che
 “ lo godè successore d'un sì valente maestro.” *Negri, Scrittori Fiorent. p. 462.*

(a) “ Morto il Politiano, meritò (Crinito) d'essere in
 “ grado di compagno, e di precettore appresso quei gio-
 “ vani de' Medici & d'altri nobili, che davano opera alle
 “ buone lettere.” *Giovio, Iscritt. p. 106.*

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II.A. D. 1498.
A. JR. 17.

is therefore more probable that Crinitus, after this period, quitted his native place, and took an active part in the commotions which soon afterwards occurred; as he frequently refers in his writings to the labours and misfortunes which he has sustained, and avows his determination to return to his literary studies.(a) That he passed some part of his time at Naples may be presumed, not only from his intimacy with Bernardo Caraffa, Tomaso Fusco, and other Neapolitan scholars, but from the particular interest which he appears to have taken on behalf of the house of Aragon, and the vehemence with which he inveighs against the French in his writings. In this respect his opinions were directly opposed to those of his friend Marullus, who openly espoused the cause of Charles VIII. It may also be conjectured that he passed a part of his time at Ferrara, where having, by accident, fallen into the Po, and escaped with safety, he addressed an ode of gratitude to the river.(b) We are informed by

(a) *De sua quiete post multas calamitates. Crin. op. p. 531.*

(b) *Carmen Charisticon, ad Eridanum fluvium, pro recepta salute, cum in eum decidisset. op. Crin. p. 543.*

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by Negri, that Crinitus died about the close of the fifteenth century, at the age of thirty-nine years ;(a) but his writings refer to many events beyond that period ; and his dedication of his treatise *De Poetis Latinis*, to Cosmo de' Pazzi, then bishop of Arezzo, and afterwards archbishop of Florence, nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent, is dated in the year 1505, which period, it is however probable, he did not long survive. We are also informed that his death was occasioned by the irregularity of his conduct and the licentiousness of his friends, one of whom, in the frolics of a convivial entertainment, at the villa of Pietro Martelli, poured over him a vessel of water, with the disgrace of which he was so greatly affected, that he died in a few days.(b) Not to insist merely on the improbability of such a narrative, a sufficient proof that the life of Crinitus was not terminated by any sudden accident, appears in his beautiful and pathetic Latin ode on his long sickness and approaching death, from which we find, that he had struggled with a tiresome feverish indisposition, which had baffled the skill

(a) Negri, *Scrittori Fiorent*, p. 462.

(b) Negri, *ubi. sup.* *Giovio Iscritt.* 106.

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skill of his physicians, and in which he resigns himself to his untimely fate; at the same time asserting his claim to the esteem of posterity from the integrity of his life and conduct.(a) From the same piece we also learn, that he intended to have written a poem on the descent of the French into Italy, but this, with many other works, was left unfinished. After the death of Politiano, Crinitus assisted his friend Alessandro Sarti, in collecting the works of that great scholar, for the edition printed by Aldo Manuzio, in 1498. The principal work of Crinitus, *De Honesta Disciplina*, as well as his treatise on the Latin poets before-mentioned, demonstrates the extent of his learning and the accuracy of his critical taste,(b) and in these respects is not unworthy the disciple of his great preceptor.(c) His poetry, all of which

is

(a) This poem of Crinitus is given in the Appendix, No. XXII.

(b) He was the first who pointed out the mistake of the learned respecting the supposititious elegies of Cornelius Gallus; a subject which has given rise to great diversity of opinion. v. *Menagiana*, tom. i. p. 336.

(c) A few letters of Crinitus appear in the works of Politiano,

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is in the Latin language, is also entitled to commendation, and will occasionally be introduced in the following pages, as illustrating the public transactions of the times in which he lived.

It may not be improper to close this general view of the state of literature in Italy, in the year 1492, with some account of a person, whose incalculable services to the cause of sound learning, present themselves to our notice at every step, and the productions of whose skill are at every moment in the hands of the historian of this period. This can only be referred to the eminent printer Aldo Manuzio, to whom the world is indebted, not only for the works of many of the ancient authors, which he either first discovered, or first published in a correct form, but for those of many of his contemporaries, which
without

litiano, *Ep. lib. xii.* and in those of Giovanni Francesco Pico of Mirandula, *p.* 839. Andreas Dactius has commemorated him in the following epitaph :

“ Heus audi, properes licet Viator,
“ Criniti, tumulo teguntur isto,
“ Dilecti cineres sacris camœnis.
“ Hoc scires volui. Recede fœlix.”

without his unparalleled industry would not have been preserved to the present day. At this precise time he was making preparations for his laudable purpose, and had determined to devote his learning, his resources, his industry, and his life, to the service of literature. But before we advert to the measures which he adopted for this great and commendable end, it cannot be thought uninteresting briefly to commemorate the previous events of his life.

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A. D. 1492.
A. 22. 15.

Aldo Manuzio was born about the year 1447, at Bassiano, a village within the Roman territory, whence he styles himself *Aldus Manutius Bassianus*; but more frequently *Aldus Romanus*.^(a) Maittaire justly observes, that it was a fortunate circumstance, that the birth of so skilful an artist should have happened at the very time when the art itself was first meditated. Respecting his education, he has himself informed us, that he lost a great part of his time in acquiring the principles of Latin grammar by the rules of

Aldo Ma-
nuzio.

VOL. I.

M

Alessandro

(a) In the scarce edition of the *Thesaurus Cornucopiae*, of Varino Camerli, printed by Aldo in 1496, he styles himself *Aldus Manutius Bassianus Romanus*.

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A. 22. 17.

Alessandro de Villadei, (a) the book then commonly used in the schools, but this disadvantage was soon afterwards compensated by the instructions which he obtained, in the Latin tongue, from Gasparo Veronese at Rome, and in both Latin and Greek, from Battista Guarino, who then resided at Ferrara, at which place Aldo also took up his abode. (b) Under such tutors, the proficiency of such a scholar was rapid, and at an early age Aldo became himself an instructor, having been entrusted with the education of Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, who was nearly of his own age. (c) With this young nobleman he

(a) This grammarian lived in the early part of the thirteenth century. His work is written in barbarous Latin verse, which the pupils were compelled to repeat by memory. Manni has given, from a MS. copy in his own possession, a specimen of this pedantic, but once celebrated production, which thus commences :

“Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis
 “Pluraque doctorum sociabo scripta meorum,
 “Jamque legent pueri pro mugis Maximiani
 “Quæ veteres sociis nolebant pandere caris.” &c.

Manni, *vita di Aldo*, p. 7. ed Ven. 1750.

(b) *Aldi Manutii præf. ad Theocritum*, &c. Ven. 1495.

(c) The subsequent commotions of Italy, in which Alberto

he contracted a friendship which proved throughout his life of the greatest service to him, and which was afterwards manifested by his disciple conceding to him the honourable privilege of using his family name, whence Aldus has often denominated himself *Aldus Pius Manutius*. In the year 1482, when the safety of Ferrara was threatened by the formidable attack of the Venetians, Aldo retreated to Mirandola,^(a) where he contracted a strict intimacy with the celebrated Giovanni Pico. His intercourse with these two men of distinguished rank and learning continued

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His acquaintance with Alberto Pio, Lord of Carpi, and Pico of Mirandola.

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with

berto acted an important part, have probably deprived the world of the fruits of his literary studies. Such at least, is the inference which arises from the following passage, in the dedication to him of the Aldine edition of Lucretius, at the time when he was engaged as the Imperial envoy at the court of Rome: "Deus perdat pernicioſa hæc bella, quæ te perturbant, quæ te tamdiu avertunt a ſacris ſtudiis litterarum; nec ſinunt ut quiete, et, quod ſemper cupiviſti atque optaſti, fruaris otio, ad eas artes, quibus à puero deditus fuiſti, celebrandas; jam aliquem fructum dediſſes ſtudiorum, tuorum utilem ſane et nobis et poſteris: quæ te privari re, ita moleſte ſers, ut nullam aliam ob cauſam, credendum ſit, nuper te Romæ tam gravi morbo laboraſſe, ut de ſalute tua et timerent boni omnes et angereſſentur."

(a) *Aldi Ep. in Ep. Polit. lib. vii.*

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with uninterrupted esteem, and Alberto had expressed an intention of investing him with the government of a part of his territory of Carpi; but this project was relinquished for one which proved more honourable to Aldo, and more useful to mankind. In the friendly interviews which took place among these individuals, the idea was gradually formed of the great undertaking which Aldo was destined to carry into effect, and in which, as it has been with probability conjectured, he was to have the support and pecuniary assistance of his two illustrious friends.

Motives of Aldo for undertaking to print and publish the works of the ancients.

Of the liberal motives by which Aldo was actuated, he has left to posterity abundant evidence. "The necessity of Greek literature is now," says he, "universally acknowledged, insomuch, that not only our youth endeavour to acquire it, but it is studied even by those advanced in years. We read but of one Cato among the Romans who studied Greek in his old age, but in our times we have many Catos, and the number of our youth, who apply themselves to the study of Greek, is almost as great as of those who study the Latin tongue; so that Greek books, of which there are but few in existence, are now
"eagerly

"eagerly sought after. But by the assistance of Jesus Christ, I hope ere long to supply this deficiency, although it can only be accomplished by great labour, inconvenience, and loss of time. Those who cultivate letters must be supplied with books necessary for their purpose, and till this supply be obtained I shall not be at rest."(a)

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A. Et. 17.

But although the publication of the Greek authors appears to have been his favourite object, and always occupied a great part of his attention, yet he extended his labours to other languages, and to every department of learning. The place which he chose for his establishment was Venice, already the most distinguished city in Italy for the attention paid to the art, and where it was most probable that he might meet with those materials and assistants which were necessary for his purpose.(b) In making the preparations requisite

Establishes
his press at
Venice,
and founds
an academy
there.

(a) v. *Aldi Epist. Aristoteli Organo* 1495, *præfixam*, et *Mailtaire. Annal.* i. 69. His magnanimity and public spirit appear also from many other passages in his own writings.

(b) If this city has not produced many authors of the first

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quisite for commencing his work, he was indefatigable; (a) but the more particular object of his wishes was the discovery of some method, by which he might give to his publications a greater degree of correctness than had been attained by any preceding artist. To this end he invited to his assistance a great number of distinguished scholars, whom he prevailed upon by his own influence and that of his friends, or the stipulation of a liberal reward, to take up their residence at Venice. That he might attach them still more to the place and to each other, he proposed the establishment of a literary association

first eminence, it has compensated the world by multiplying and perpetuating the works of others. Yet Venice is not without its panygerists: thus Battista Mantuanus—

“ Semper apud Venetos studium sapientiæ et omnis
 “ In pretio doctrina fuit; superavit Athenas
 “ Ingeniis, rebus gestis, Lacedæmona et Argos.”

(a) Maittaire conjectures, that he was employed in these preparations four or five years; but from the preface of Aldus to the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ* of Varino Camerti, printed in 1496, it appears that he had been occupied in this undertaking from the year 1489, “ Postquam suscepi
 “ hanc duram provinciam (annus enim agitur jam septi-
 “ mus) possem jurejurando affirmare, tot annos ne horam
 “ quidem solidæ habuisse quietis.”

tion, or academy, the chief object of which was to collate the works of the ancient authors, with a view to their publication in as perfect a manner as possible. Of this academy Marcus Musurus, Pietro Bembo, Angelo Gabrielli, Andrea Navagero, Daniello Rinieri, Marino Sanuto, Benedetto Ramberti, Battista Egnazio, and Giambattista Ramusio, were the principal ornaments, and will be entitled to our future notice. For the more effectual establishment of this institution, it was his earnest wish to have obtained an Imperial diploma; but in this respect he was disappointed; and the Venetian academy, which ought to have been an object of national or universal munificence, was left to depend upon the industry and bounty of a private individual, under whose auspices it subsisted during many years in great credit, and effected, in a very considerable degree, the beneficial purposes which its founder had in view.

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Such were the motives, and such the preparations for this great undertaking; but its execution surpassed all the expectations that its most sanguine promoters could have formed of it. The first work produced from the Aldine press, was the poem of Hero and

Leander,

Progress
and success
of his un-
dertaking.

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II.A. D. 1492.
A. EL. 17.

Leander, of Musæus, in the year 1494 (a) from which time, for the space of upwards of twenty years, during which Aldo continued his labours, there is scarcely an ancient author, Greek or Latin, of whom he did not give a copious edition; besides publishing a considerable number of books in the Italian tongue. In the acquisition of the most authentic copies of the ancient authors, whether manuscript or printed, he spared neither labour nor expense; and such was the opinion entertained of his talents and assiduity by the celebrated Erasmus, who occasionally assisted him in revising the ancient writers, that he has endeavoured to do justice to his merits, by asserting in his *Adagia*, " that if some tutelary
 " deity had promoted the views of Aldo, the
 " learned world would shortly have been in
 " possession, not only of all the Greek and
 " Latin authors, but even of the Hebrew and
 " Chaldaic; insomuch, that nothing could
 " have been wanting, in this respect, to their
 " wishes. That it was an enterprize of royal
 " munificence

(a) This work is not marked by the date of the year in which it was printed, and Manni seems to doubt its claim to priority; but Maittaire had before sufficiently shewn that this opinion was well founded. *Annal. typ.* i. 70.

“ munificence to re-establish polite letters;
 “ then almost extinct; to discover what was
 “ hidden; to supply what was wanting; and
 “ correct what was defective.” By the same
 eminent scholar we are also assured, that
 whilst Aldo promoted the interests of the
 learned, the learned gave him in return their
 best assistance, and that even the Hungarians
 and the Poles sent their works to his press,
 and accompanied them by liberal presents.
 How these great objects could be accomplished
 by the efforts of an individual, will appear
 extraordinary; especially when it is consi-
 dered, that Aldo was a professed teacher of
 the Greek language in Venice; that he dili-
 gently attended the meetings of the academy;
 that he maintained a frequent correspondence
 with the learned in all countries; that the
 prefaces and dedications of the books which
 he published were often of his own composi-
 tion; that the works themselves were occasi-
 onally illustrated by his criticisms and obser-
 vations; and that he sometimes printed his
 own works: an instance of which appears in
 his Latin grammar, published in the year
 1507. The solution of this difficulty, may
 however, in some degree be obtained, by pe-
 rusing the inscription placed by Aldo over
 the door of his study, in which he requests
 his

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 II.

A. D. 1402
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CHAP.
II.

A. D. 1492.

A. M. 17.

his visitors to dispatch their business with him, as expeditiously as possible, and begone; unless they come, as Hercules came to Atlas; with a view of rendering assistance; in which case there would be sufficient employment, both for them, and as many others as might repair thither.

QUISQUIS ES ROGAT TE ALDUS ETIAM ATQUE ETIAM,
UT SI QUID EST QUOD A SE VELIS, PERPAUCIS AGAS,
DEINDE ACTUTUM AB EAS; NISI, TAMQUAM HERCULES,
PEFESSO ATLANTE, VENERIS SUPPOSITURUS HUMEROS:
SEMPER ENIM ERIT QUOD ET TU AGAS,
ET QUOTQUOT
HUC ATTULERINT PEDES.

CHAP. III.

1492—1494.

THE cardinal de' Medici returns to Florence—
Death of Innocent VIII.—Election of Alexander VI.—Ambitious views of Lodovico Sforza—He invites Charles VIII. into Italy—League between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians—Observations on the respective claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon—Charles accommodates his differences with other states—Negotiates with the Florentines—Alexander VI. remonstrates with him on his attempt—The king of Naples endeavours to prevail on him to relinquish his expedition—Prepares for his defence—Alfonso II. succeeds to the crown of Naples—Prepares for war—Views and conduct of the smaller states of Italy—Charles VIII. engages Italian stipendiaries—Unsuccessful attempt of the Neapolitans against Genoa—Ferdinand duke of Calabria, opposes the French in Romagna—Charles crosses the Alps—His interview with Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan—Hesitates respecting the prosecution of his enterprize—Piero de' Medici surrenders to Charles VIII. the fortresses of Tuscany—The cardinal de' Medici with his brothers Piero and Giuliano expelled

*expelled the city—Pisa asserts its liberties—
Retreat of the duke of Calabria before d' Au-
bigny—Charles VIII. enters Florence—In-
tends to restore Piero de' Medici—Commutations
in Florence and treaty with Charles VIII.—
Charles enters the territories of the Church—
The states of Italy exhorted by a contemporary
writer to oppose the progress of the French.*

CHAP. III.

SCARCELY had the cardinal de' Medici gone through the ceremonies of his admission into the consistory, when he received intelligence of the death of his father, which happened on the eighth day of April, 1492. His sensations on this occasion are strongly expressed in his letters to his brother Piero ;(a) but not satisfied with epistolary condolence and advice,

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III.

A. D. 1492.

A. Et. 17.

The Cardinal de' Medici returns to Florence.

(a) v. *Life of Lor. de' Med.* ii. 247. *Appendix, No. lxxx.*

Another

CHAP.
III.

A. D. 1492.

A. Et. 17.

vice, he prepared to pay a visit to Florence, for the purpose of supporting, by his presence, the credit and authority of the Medici in that city. In order to give him additional importance on this occasion, the pope appointed him legate of the patrimony of St. Peter, and of the Tuscan state. (a) Before his arrival, the magistrates and council had, however, passed a decree, by which they had continued to Piero all the honours which his late father had enjoyed. The general disposition of the inhabitants was indeed so highly favourable to the Medici, that the authority of Piero seemed to be established on as sure a foundation as that of any of his ancestors, with the additional stability which length of time always gives to public opinion.

During the residence of the cardinal at Florence, he distinguished himself amongst his
fellow-

Another letter written soon after this event, and hitherto unpublished, is given in the Appendix to this vol. No. XXIII.

(a) *Fabronii, vita Leon. x. p. 13 adnot. 10. & v. Appendix. No. XXIV.*

CHAR.
III.A. D. 1492.
A. Æt. 17.

fellow-citizens, not only by the decorum and gravity of his conduct as an ecclesiastic, but by his munificence to those numerous and eminent scholars, whom the death of his father had deprived of their chief protector. To his favour, Marsilio Ficino was indebted for the respectable rank of a canon of Florence. His liberality was yet more particularly shewn to Demetrius Chalcondyles, from whom he had formerly received instruction, and to whom he afforded pecuniary assistance, not only for his own purposes, but for the promotion of his numerous offspring. In these, and similar instances, his conduct corresponded with the sentiments professed by him, in the assertion which he made, that the greatest alleviation which he could experience of his recent loss, would be to have it in his power, to promote the interest of those men of learning, who had been the peculiar objects of the affection and regard of his father. (a) In the mean time the health of the pope was rapidly declining, and the cardinal received information, which induced him to hasten with all possible expedition towards Rome. On this occasion the magistrates of Florence directed their general, Paolo Orsino, to

(a) *Fabronii, Vita Leon. x. p. 14.*

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A. ET. 27.
Death of
Innocent
VIII.

to accompany him to that city, with a body of horse; but before his arrival there, he received intelligence of the death of the pontiff, which happened on the twenty-fifth day of July, 1492.

If the character of Innocent were to be impartially weighed, the balance would incline, but with no very rapid motion, to the favourable side. His native disposition seems to have been mild and placable; but the disputed claims of the Roman see, which he conceived it to be his duty to enforce, led him into embarrassments, from which he was with difficulty extricated, and which, without increasing his reputation, destroyed his repose. He had some pretensions to munificence, and may be ranked with those pontiffs to whom Rome is indebted for her more modern ornaments. One of the faults with which he stands charged, is his unjust distribution of the treasures of the church among the children who had been born to him during his secular life; (a) but

(a) These children were illegitimate, as appears from the evidence of Burchard, who denominates Francesco Cibò—"Filius Papæ, etiam bastardus, prout Domina "Theodorina." *Burcard. Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi.*

but even in this respect his bounty was restrained within moderate limits. Instead of raising his eldest son, Francesco Gibò, to an invidious equality with the hereditary princes of Italy, he conferred on him the most substantial, and less dangerous benefits of great private wealth; and although to these he had added the small domains of Anguillara and Cervetri, yet Francesco, soon after the death of his father, divested himself of these possessions for an equivalent in money, and took up his abode at Florence, among the kinsmen of his wife, Maddalena de' Medici.

SHAR.
III.

A. D. 1502.
A. Ed. 17.

On the death of the pope, his body was carried to the church of St. Peter, attended by the cardinal de' Medici, and four others of equal rank. His obsequies were performed on the fifth day of August, and on the following day the cardinals entered the conclave, amidst the tumults of the people, who, as usual on such occasions, abandoned themselves to every

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species

Rai. i. 93. Nor was incontinency the only crime of this pontiff, if we may judge from the epigram of Marullus.

"Spurcitia, gula, avaritia, atque ignavia deses,
"Hoc, Octave, jacent quo tegeris, tumulto."

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species of outrage and licentiousness. (a) The chief contest appeared to subsist between Ascanio Sforza, whose superior rank and powerful family-connexions gave him great credit, and Roderigo Borgia, who counterbalanced the influence of his opponent, by his long experience, deep dissimulation, and the riches amassed from the many lucrative offices which he had enjoyed. With such art did he employ these advantages, that Ascanio himself, seduced by the blandishments and promises of Roderigo, not only relinquished his own pretensions, but became the most earnest advocate for the success of his late opponent. So openly was this scandalous traffic carried on, that Roderigo sent four mules laden with silver to Ascanio, and presented to another cardinal a sum of five thousand gold crowns, as an earnest of what he was afterwards to receive. (b) On this occasion, the cardinal de' Medici

(a) Per Roma scorrevano a schiera i ladroni, gli omicidarii, i banditi, ed ogni pessima sorte d'uomini; ed i palazzi de' cardinali havevano le guardie di schioppettieri, e delle bombarde, perchè non fossero saccheggiate.

Conclavi de' Pontef. Rom. v. i. p. 133.

(b) *Burchard Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du. Roi. i. 101.*

Medici had attached himself to the cardinals Francesco Piccolomini, (afterwards Pius III.) and Oliviero Caraffa, men of great integrity and respectability, but who were induced to relax in their opposition to the election of Roderigo, by the exertions of Ascanio Sforza.(a) Of twenty cardinals who entered the conclave, we are informed there were only five who did not sell their votes.(b)

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III.

A. D. 1492.
A. M. 17.

On the eleventh day of August, 1492, Roderigo, having assumed the name of Alexander VI. made his entrance, as supreme Pontiff, into the church of St. Peter. The ceremonies and processions on this occasion exceeded in pomp and expense all that modern Rome had before witnessed; and whilst the new pontiff passed through the triumphal arches erected to his honour, he might have read the inscriptions which augured the return of the golden age, and hailed him as a conqueror and a god.(c) These pageants
being

Election of
Alexander
VI.

(a) *Jovius, in vitâ Leon. x. p. 15.*

(b) *Burch. Diar. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi. i. 101.*

(c) Of these, the following may serve as a sufficient specimen—

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III.

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A. H. 17.

being terminated, Alexander underwent the final test of his qualifications, which, in his particular instance, might have been dispensed with, (a) and being then admitted into the plenitude of power, he bestowed his pontifical benediction on the people. "He entered on " his office," says a contemporary historian, " with

" *Cæsare magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima, Sextus*
" *Regnat Alexander; ille vir, iste deus.*"

" *Alexandro invictissimo, Alexandro pientissimo, Alex-*
" *andro magnificentissimo, Alexandro in omnibus maximo,*
" *honor et gratia.*"

" *Scit venisse suum, patria grata, Jovem.*"

Other instances of preposterous adulation may be found in Corio, *Storia di Milano*, par. vii. p. 888. &c. If, however, all the enormities recorded of him be true, one of the Roman poets of antiquity would have furnished him with a much more appropriate motto.—

" *Attulerat secum liquidi quoque monstra veneni,*
" *Oris Cerberei spumas, et virus Echidnæ,*
" *Erroraque vagos, cæcæque obliviam mentis,*
" *Et scelus, et lachrymas, rabiemque, et cædis amorem,*
" *Omnia trita simul.*"—

Ovid. Met. lib. iv. v. 499.

(a) " Finalmente, essendo fornite le solite solennità in
" *Sancta Sanctorum*, e domesticamente toccatogli i testi-
" *coli,*

" with the meekness of an ox, but he administered it with the fierceness of a lion." (a)

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III.

A.D. 1494
A.M. 1577

The intelligence of this event being dispersed through Italy, where the character of Roderigo Borgia was well known, a general dissatisfaction took place, and Ferdinand of Naples, who in his reputation for sagacity stood the highest among the sovereigns of Europe, is said to have declared to his queen with tears, from which feminine expression of his feelings he was wont to abstain even on the death of his children, that the election of this pontiff would be destructive to the repose, not only of Italy, but of the whole republic of Christendom: " a prognostic," says Guicciardini, " not unworthy of the prudence of Ferdinand; for in Alexander VI. were united a singular degree of prudence
" and

" coli, e data la benedizione, ritornò al palagio." *Corio, Storia di Milano, par. vii. p. 890.* Respecting the origin of this custom, *v. Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, p. 149. Note (b)*

(a) " Entrò nel Pontificato Alessandro vi. mansueto come bue, e l'ha amministrato come leone." *Corio, ut sup. p. 890.*

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“ and sagacity, a sound understanding, a
 “ wonderful power of persuasion, and an in-
 “ credible perseverance, vigilance, and dex-
 “ terity in whatever he undertook. But these
 “ good qualities were more than counter-
 “ balanced by his vices. In his manners he
 “ was most shameless; wholly divested of
 “ sincerity, of decency, and of truth; with-
 “ out fidelity, without religion; in his avarice
 “ immoderate; in his ambition insatiable;
 “ in his cruelty more than barbarous; with a
 “ most ardent desire of exalting his numerous
 “ children, by whatever means it might be ac-
 “ complished; some of whom (that depraved
 “ instruments might not be wanting for de-
 “ praved purposes) were not less detestable
 “ than their father.” (a) Such, in the opinion
 of this eminent historian, was the man,
 whom the sacred college had chosen to be the
 supreme head of the christian church.

The elevation of Alexander VI. was the
 signal of flight to such of the cardinals as had
 opposed his election. Giuliano della Rovere,
 who to a martial spirit united a personal ha-
 tred of Alexander, insomuch, that in one of
 their

(a) Guicciardin. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. i.

CHAP.
III.A. D. 1498.
A. Æt. 17.

their quarrels, the dispute had terminated with blows, thought it prudent to consult his safety by retiring to Ostia, of which place he was bishop. Here he fortified himself as for a siege, alledging, that he could not trust *the traitor*, by which appellation he had been accustomed to distinguish his ancient adversary. (a) The cardinal, Giovanni Colonna, sought a refuge in the island of Sicily; and the cardinal de' Medici, equally inimical, but less obnoxious to Alexander, retired to Florence; where he remained till the approaching calamities of his family compelled him to seek a shelter elsewhere. (b)

No sooner was the new pontiff firmly seated in the chair of St. Peter, than those jealousies, intrigues, and disputes, among the potentates of Italy, which had for some time past almost ceased to agitate that country, began again to revive, and prepared the way, not only for a long series of bloodshed and misery, but for events which overturned in a great degree the political fabric of Italy, and materially affected the rest of Europe. During the minority of his

Ambitious
views of
Lodovico
Sforza.

(a) *Muratori Annali d' Italia*, v. ix. p. 566.

(b) *Ammirato, Ritratti d'uomini illustri di Casa Medici*.
Opusc. vol. iii. p. 61.

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A. 52. 17.

his nephew, Gian-Galeazzo, Lodovico Sforza had possessed the entire direction of the government of Milan, as guardian and representative of the young prince. (a) Gratified by the exercise of the supreme authority, he looked forwards with vexation and with dread, to the time when he was to relinquish his trust into the hands of his rightful sovereign; and having at length silenced the voice of conscience, and extinguished the sense of duty, he began to adopt such measures as he thought most likely to deprive his nephew of his dominions, and vest the sovereignty in himself. For this purpose he intrusted the command of the fortresses and strong holds of the country to such persons only, as he knew were devoted to his interests. The revenue of the state, which was then very considerable; (b) became in his hands the means of corrupting the soldiery and their leaders. All honours, offices,

(a) From the ancient chronicle of Donato Bossi, printed at Milan, 1492, it appears, that the Milanese government at this time included the cities and districts of Milan, Cremona, Parma, Pavia, Como, Lodi, Piacenza, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Bobbio, Savona, Albingano, Vintimiglia, and the whole territory of the Genoese.

(b) Corio states the ducal revenue at this period, at 600,000 ducats. *Storia di Milano. lib. vii. p. 883.*

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offices, and favours, depended upon his will; and so completely had he at length concentrated in himself the power and resources of the state, that, if we may give credit to an historian of those times, the young duke and his consort Isabella, the daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, were nearly deprived of the common necessities of life.(a) With all these precautions the authority of Lodovico was yet insecure, and the final success of his purpose doubtful. The hereditary right of Gian-Galeazzo to his dominions, was unimpeachable, and he was now of age to take upon himself the supreme authority.(b) His wife Isabella
of

(a) " Ed in tal forma fu ristretta la corte Ducale, che a fatica Giovanni Galeazzo, ed Isabella sua moglie, potevano havere il vitto loro."

Corio, Storia di Milano, lib. vii. p. 883.

(b) It appears, however, from Summonte, that Lodovico had pretended a legal right to the sovereignty, on the plea, that Galeazzo, the father of the young duke, was born before the time that his father Francesco had obtained the dominion of Milan; whereas Lodovico was the eldest son born after that acquisition, and consequently, as he asserted, entitled to the succession. *Summonte, Storia di Napoli, v. iii. p. 497.* It is however remarkable, that Donato Bossi, in his chronicle, printed in 1492, and dedicated

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A.Æ. 17.

of Aragón, was a woman of a firm and independent spirit, and by her he had already several children.(a) Under these circumstances it was scarcely to be supposed, that Lodovico could divest his nephew of the government without incurring the resentment of the princes of the house of Aragón, who might probably also excite the other states of Italy to avenge the cause of an injured sovereign. That these apprehensions were not without foundation, he had already received a decisive proof. The degraded state to which Isabella and her husband were reduced, had compelled her to represent by letter to her father Alfonso, their dangers and their sufferings, in consequence

cated to Gian-Galeazzo, expressly commends the fidelity and loyalty of Lodovico to his sovereign.—“*Opus autem ipsum annalium, circa quod jam ultra tria lustra versatus sum, tibi Joanni Galeazio Sfortiæ, Vicecomiti, penes quem, hominum divorumque consensus, justissimique principis patrui tui Ludovici fides et probitas, Mediolanensis principatûs, reliquarumque excelsarum urbium, regimen esse voluit, dedico et dono.*”

(a) “*La diete fille,*” says Commines, speaking of Isabella, “*estoit fort courageuse, et eust volontiers donné credit à son mari, si elle eust pu; mais il n’estoit gueres sage, et révéloit ce qu’elle lui disoit.*” *Mem. de Com.* liv. vii. p. 188. ed. Lyons 1559.

consequence of which, a formal embassy had been dispatched from the king of Naples to Lodovico, to prevail upon him to relinquish the supreme authority into the hands of his lawful prince.^(a) This measure, instead of answering the intended purpose, served only to demonstrate to Lodovico the dangers which he had to apprehend, and the necessity of forming such alliances as might enable him to repel any hostile attempt.

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III.

A. D. 1492.
A. EL. 17.

In turning his eye for this purpose towards the other states of Italy; there was no place which he regarded with more anxiety than the city of Florence; not only on account of the situation of its territory, which might open the way to a direct attack upon him, but from the suspicions which he already entertained, that Piero de' Medici had been induced to unite his interests with those of the family of Aragon, in preference to the house of Sforza; a suspicion not indeed without foundation, and which some circumstances that occurred at this period amply confirmed.

On

(a) *Corio, Storia di Milan. lib. vii. p. 883.* where the letter from Isabella to her father is given.

CHAP.
III.

A. D. 1492.

X. XL. 17.

On the elevation of Alexander VI. it had been determined to dispatch an embassy from Florence to congratulate the new pontiff. As a similar mark of respect to the pope was adopted by all the states of Italy, it was proposed by Lodovico Sforza, that in order to demonstrate the intimate union and friendship which then subsisted among them, the different ambassadors should all make their public entry into Rome, and pay their adoration to the pope on the same day. This proposition was universally agreed to; but Piero de' Medici, who had been nominated as one of the Florentine envoys, proud of his superior rank, which he conceived would be degraded by his appearing amidst an assembly of delegates, and perhaps desirous of displaying in the eyes of the Roman people an extraordinary degree of splendor, for which he had made great preparations, felt a repugnance to comply with the general determination. Unwilling, however, to oppose the project openly, he applied to the king of Naples, requesting him, if possible, to prevent its execution, by alledging that it would rather tend to disturb than to confirm the repose of Italy, and to introduce disputes respecting precedency which might eventually excite jealousy and resentment.

resentment. The means by which this opposition was effected, could not however be concealed from the vigilance of Lodovico, to whom it seemed to impute some degree of blame, in having originally proposed the measure ; while it served to convince him, that a secret intercourse subsisted between Ferdinand and Piero de' Medici, which might prove highly dangerous to his designs.

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III.

A. D. 1498.

A. Et. 17.

This event was shortly afterwards followed by another, more clearly evincing this connexion. It had long been the policy of the Neapolitan sovereigns, always fearful of the pretensions of the holy see, to maintain a powerful interest among the Roman nobility. On the death of Innocent VIII. his son, Francesco Gibò, preferring the life of a Florentine citizen, with competence and security, to that of a petty sovereign, without a sufficient force to defend his possessions, sold the states of Anguillara and Cervetri, to Virginio Orsino, a near relation of Piero de' Medici, and an avowed partisan of Ferdinand of Naples, at whose instance the negotiation was concluded, and who furnished Virginio with the money necessary to effect the purchase. As this measure was adopted without the concurrence

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III.A. D. 1492.
A. M. 17.

currence of the pope, and evidently tended to diminish his authority, even in the papal state, he not only poured forth the bitterest invectives against all those who had been privy to the transaction, but pretended, that by such alienation, the possessions of Francesco had devolved to the holy see.^(a) Nor was Lodovico Sforza less irritated than the pope, by this open avowal of confidence between Piero de' Medici and the king of Naples, although he concealed the real motives of his disapprobation, under the plausible pretext, that such an alliance formed too preponderating a power for the safety of the rest of Italy.

Lodovico Sforza determines to invite Charles VIII. into Italy.

In endeavouring to secure himself from the perils which he saw, or imagined, in this alliance, Lodovico was induced by his restless genius, to adopt the desperate remedy of inviting Charles VIII. of France, to make a descent upon Italy, for the purpose of enforcing his claim, as representative of the house of Anjou, to the sovereignty of Naples; an attempt, which Lodovico conjectured, would, if crowned with success, for ever

(a) Guicciardin. *Storia d' Italia*. lib. i.

ever secure him from those apprehensions, of which he could not divest himself, whilst the family of Aragon continued to occupy the throne of their ancestors.

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III.

A. D. 1493.
A. Æt. 120.

With this view, Lodovico, in the early part of the year 1493, dispatched the count di Belgioioso, as his confidential envoy to France; but as the interference of the French monarch was regarded by him only as a resource in case of necessity, he did not in the mean time neglect any opportunity of attaching to his interests the different sovereigns of Italy. His endeavours were more particularly exerted to effect a closer union with the pope, who, besides the public cause of offence which he had received from the king of Naples, was yet more strongly actuated by the feelings of wounded pride, and of personal resentment. From the time of his elevation to the pontificate, the aggrandizement of his family became the leading motive of his conduct; and very soon afterwards, he had ventured to propose a treaty of marriage between his youngest son, Geoffroi, and Sancia of Aragon, a natural daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, with whom he expected his son would obtain a rich territory in the kingdom of Naples.

League between the Pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians.

Alfonso

CHAP.
III.A. D. 1493.
A. Et. 18.

Alfonso, who abhorred the pontiff, and whose pride was probably wounded by the proposal of such an alliance, found means to raise such obstacles against it, as wholly frustrated the views of the pope. The common causes of resentment which Lodovico Sforza and the pontiff entertained against the family of Aragon, were mutually communicated to each other, by means of the cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had been promoted by Alexander to the important office of vice-chancellor of the holy see; and on the twenty-first day of April, 1493,^(a) a league was concluded between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians, the latter of whom had been induced by the solicitations of Lodovico Sforza, to concur in this measure. By this treaty, which gave a new aspect to the affairs of Italy, the parties engaged for the joint defence of their dominions. The pope was also to have the assistance of his colleagues in obtaining possession of the territories and fortresses occupied by Virginio Orsino. But although the formalities were expedited in the name of Gian-Galeazzo, the rightful sovereign of Milan,

(a) Guicciardin. lib. i. p. 11. Murat. vol. ix. p. 568.

Milan, yet an article was introduced for maintaining the authority of Lodovico as chief director of the state.

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III.

A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 15.

As these proceedings could be regarded by the family of Aragon, in no other light than as preliminaries to direct hostilities, they excited great apprehensions in the mind of Ferdinand, who was well aware how little cause he had to rely on the assistance of his nobility and powerful feudatories, in resisting any hostile attack. The direct consequences of this league were, however, such as to induce a closer union between the family of Aragon and the state of Florence; in consequence of which, Piero de' Medici, as the chief of that republic, no longer hesitated to avow his connexions with Ferdinand. In the first impulse of resentment, it was proposed between Piero, and Alfonso, duke of Calabria, that they should join with Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, in a design formed by the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the avowed adversary of Alexander, for attacking the city of Rome; an enterprise to which the sanction of the Orsini, with whom Piero de' Medici possessed great influence, would, in all probability, have given decisive success. In this daring at-

The Florentines & the king of Naples unite their interests.

CHAP.
III.A. D. 1493.
A. Æt. 12.

tempt, Ferdinand, however, refused to concur; judging it expedient rather to sooth the resentment, and perhaps, in some degree, to gratify the wishes of his adversaries, than to involve himself in a contest, the result of which he could not contemplate without the most alarming apprehensions. On this account he not only determined to withdraw his opposition to the pope, respecting the possessions of Virginio Orsino, but found means to renew the treaty for an alliance between his own family and that of the pontiff. To these propositions Alexander listened with eagerness, and the marriage, between Geoffroi Borgia and Sancia of Aragon, was finally agreed upon; although, on account of the youth of the parties, a subsequent period was appointed for its consummation.(a)

Charles resolves to undertake the conquest of Naples.

No sooner was the intelligence of this new alliance, and the defection of the pope, communicated to Lodovico Sforza, than his fears for the continuance of his usurped authority, increased to the most alarming degree, and he determined to hasten, as much

28

(a) This treaty was concluded on the 12th day of June, 1493. *Mural. An. ix. 569.*

CHAP.
III.A. D. 1493.
A. 51. 19.

as possible, the negotiation in which he was already engaged, for inducing Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples. This young monarch, the only son of Louis XI. had succeeded, on the death of his father in 1483, to the crown of France, when only twelve years of age. Although destined to the accomplishment of great undertakings, he did not derive from nature the characteristics of a hero, either in the endowments of his body, or in the qualities of his mind. His stature was low, his person ill-proportioned, his countenance pallid, his head large, his limbs slender, and his feet of so uncommon a breadth, that it was asserted he had more than the usual number of toes. His constitution was so infirm, as to render him, in the general opinion, wholly unfit for hardships and military fatigues. His mind was as weak as his body; he had been educated in ignorance, debarred from the commerce of mankind, and on some occasions he manifested a degree of pusillanimity which almost exceeds belief. (a) With all these defects, both natu-
ral

(a) Commynes gives us to understand, that Charles was not displeased at the death of his son, at three years of age, because he was, "bel enfant, audacieux en parole, &

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ral and acquired, Charles was not destitute of ambition ; but it was the ambition of an impotent mind, which, dazzled by the splendor of its object, sees neither the dangers that attend its acquisition, nor the consequences of its attainment. On a character so constituted, the artful representations of Lodovico Sforza were well calculated to produce their full effect ; but as the prospect of success opened upon Charles, his views became more enlarged, till at length he began to consider the acquisition of Naples, as only an intermediate step to the overthrow of the Turks, and the restoration in his own person, of the high dignity of emperor of the east. This idea, which acted at the same time on the pride and on the superstition of the king, Lodovico encouraged to the utmost of his power. In order to give greater importance to his solicitations, he dispatched to Paris a splendid embassy of the chief nobility of Milan, at the

“ ne craignoit point les choses que les autres enfans sont accoutumés à craindre,” and the king it seems was therefore afraid, that if the child lived, he might diminish his consequence, or endanger his authority ; “ car le roi ne fut jamais que petit homme de corps, et peu étendu ; mais étoit si bon, qu’il ne s’est pas possible de voir meilleure creature.” *Mem. de Com. lib. viii. p. 248.*

the head of which he placed his former envoy, the Count di Belgioioso. With great assiduity and personal address, this nobleman instigated the king to this important enterprize, assuring him of the prompt and effectual aid of Lodovico Sforza, and the favour or neutrality of the other states of Italy; and representing to him the inefficient resources of Ferdinand of Naples, and the odium with which both he and his son Alfonso were regarded by the principal barons of the realm; a truth which was confirmed to Charles by the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, who had sought, in the court of France, a refuge from the resentment of Ferdinand. These solicitations produced the effect which Lodovico intended, and Charles not only engaged in the attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, but, to the surprize of all his courtiers, he determined to lead his army in person. (a)

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III.

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A. Æt. 18.

The respective claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon upon the crown of Naples, were, in the estimation of sound sense and enlightened policy, equally devoid of foundation. In all countries, the supreme authority

Claims of
the houses
Anjou and
Aragon to
the crown
of Naples.

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital.* lib. i. Murat. *Annali*, ix, *passim*. Corio, *Storia di Milan.* par. vii. p. 890. &c.

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rity has been supposed to be rightfully vested only in those who claim it by hereditary descent, or by the consenting voice of the people ; but with respect to the kingdom of Naples, each of the contending parties founded its pretensions on a donation of the sovereignty to their respective ancestors. The origin of these contentions is to be traced to a remote assumption of the holy see, by which it was asserted, that the kingdom of Naples was held by its sovereigns as a fief of the church, and in certain cases, on which the pontiffs arrogated to themselves the right of deciding, reverted to its actual disposal. That dominion, which the sovereign had received as the gift of another, it was supposed that he could himself transfer by his voluntary act ; the consent of the church being all that was necessary to render such transfer valid ; and to this pernicious and absurd idea, we are to trace all the calamities which destroyed for several centuries the repose of Italy, and rendered it, on various occasions, the theatre of massacre, of rapine, and of blood.(a)

To

(a) Should the reader wish for more particular information respecting the claims of the contending parties to the crown

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To balance against each other, pretensions which are equally unsubstantial on any principle of sound policy, or even of acknowledged and positive law, may seem superfluous. If long prescription can be presumed to justify that which commenced in violence and in fraud, the title of the house of Anjou may be allowed to have been confirmed by a possession of nearly two centuries, in which the reins of government had been held by several monarchs who had preserved the rights and secured the happiness of their subjects. On the expulsion of Renato, in 1442, by Alfonso of Aragon, the family of Anjou were divested of their dominions; and by several successive bequests, which would scarcely have had sufficient authenticity to transfer a private inheritance from one individual to another, in any country in Europe, the rights of the exiled sovereigns became vested in Louis XI. from whom they had descended to his son Charles VIII. The title of Ferdinand was, on the other hand,

open

crown of Naples, he may peruse with great advantage the acute and learned observations of Mr. Gibbon on this subject, published in the second volume of his miscellaneous works, under the title of *Critical researches concerning the title of Charles VIII. to the crown of Naples.*

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A. 22. 13.

open to formidable objections; the illegitimacy and usurpation of his ancestor Manfred, the deduction of his rights by the female line, the long acquiescence of his family, and the circumstances of his own birth, afforded plausible pretexts for the measures adopted against him; but it must be remembered, that the same power which had conferred the kingdom on the family of Anjou, had, on another occasion, bestowed it on Alfonso, the father of Ferdinand; and the paramount authority of the Roman see, to which both parties alternately resorted, must, in the discussion of their respective claims, be considered as decisive. Alfonso on his death had given it to his son, who, whether capable or not of hereditary succession, might receive a donation, which had been transferred for ages with as little ceremony as a piece of domestic furniture; and if a nation is ever to enjoy repose, Ferdinand might, at this time, be presumed to be, both *de jure* and *de facto*, king of Naples.

In the discussion of questions of this nature, there is, however, one circumstance which seems not to have been sufficiently attended to, either by the parties themselves, or those who have examined their claims,
and

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A. E. 12

and which may explain the mutability of the Neapolitan government better than an appeal to hereditary rights, papal endowments, or feudal customs. The object of dominion is not the bare territory of a country, but the command of the men who possess that country. These, it ought to be recollected, are intelligent beings, capable of being rendered happy or miserable by the virtues or the vices of a sovereign, and acting, if not always under the influence of sober reason, with an impulse resulting from the nature of the situation in which they are placed. Whilst the prince, therefore, retains the affections of his people; whilst he calls forth their energies without rendering them ferocious, and secures their repose without debasing their character; the defects of his title to the sovereignty will disappear in the splendor of his virtues. But when he relinquishes the sceptre of the king, for the scourge of the tyrant, and the ties of attachment are loosened by reiterated instances of rapacity, cruelty, and oppression, the road to innovation is already prepared; the approach of an enemy is no longer considered as a misfortune, but as a deliverance; the dry discussion of abstract rights gives way to more imperious considerations; and the adoption of a

new

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new sovereign is not so much the result of versatility, of cowardice, or of treachery, as of that invincible necessity, by which the human race are impelled to relieve themselves from intolerable calamities.

The resolution adopted by Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples, was no sooner known in France, than it gave rise to great diversity of opinion among the barons and principal counsellors of the realm; many of whom, as well as his nearest relations, endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, by representing to him the impolicy of quitting his own dominions, the dangers to which he must infallibly expose himself, and, above all, the depressed state of his finances, which were totally inadequate to the preparation of so great an armament. They reminded him of the prudent conduct of his father, who was always averse to the measure which he now proposed to take, and unwilling to involve himself in the intricate web of Italian politics; of the long established authority of Ferdinand of Naples, confirmed by his late triumphs over his refractory nobles; and of the high military reputation of Alfonso duke of Calabria, whose expulsion of the Turks from Otranto, in the year 1481, had ranked him

him amongst the greatest generals in Europe. The die was however cast; the measure of prosperity in Italy was full; and instead of listening to the remonstrances of his friends, Charles bent his mind on the most speedy means of carrying his purpose into execution. The grandeur of the object called forth energies which none of his courtiers supposed that he possessed. The ardor of the king communicated itself to the populace, whose favour was still farther secured, by representing the conquest of Naples, as only the preliminary step to that of the capital of the Turkish empire, and to the diffusion of the catholic faith throughout the eastern world. An ignorant people are never so courageous, or rather so ferocious, as when they conceive themselves to be contending in the cause of religion. Charles had the artifice to avail himself of this propensity, and to represent his expedition as undertaken to fulfil a particular call from heaven, manifested by ancient prophecies, which had promised him, not only the empire of Constantinople, but also the kingdom of Jerusalem.(a) From all parts of his dominions, his

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(a) This expedition was the subject of several publications

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his subjects of every rank, voluntarily presented themselves to share his honours, or to partake his dangers; and, including some bands of mercenaries, he found himself in a short time at the head of an army, the numbers of which have been very differently estimated, but at the time of his departure, it could not, in its different detachments, have consisted of less than fifty thousand men.

Charles
accommodates his
differences
with Ferdi-
nand of
Spain.

Before Charles could, however, engage with any reasonable degree of safety in his intended expedition, some important difficulties yet remained to be overcome. The countenance,
or

tions in France, some of which are cited by M. Fonce-
magne, in his *Eclaircissemens historiques sur quelques cir-
constances du voyage de Charles VIII. en Italie. v. Mem. de
l'Academie des Inscript. tom. xvii. p. 539.* In one of these,
entitled *La prophetie du roy Charles huitieme de ce nom,*
par maitre Guilloche de Bordeaux, is the following passage:



- " Il fera de si grants batailles
- " Qu'il subjugera les Ytaillies.
- " Ce fait, d'ilec il s'en ira
- " Et passera dela la mer.
- " —Entrera puis dedans la Grece,
- " Ou, par sa vaillant prouesse,
- " Sera nommé le roi des Grecs ;
- " En Jerusalem entrerà,
- " Et mont Olivet montera." &c.

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A. Ed. 98.

or the acquiescence of the principal sovereigns of Europe was indispensably necessary; but although he was on terms of amity with the king of England (Henry VII.) he was involved in quarrels with Ferdinand of Spain, and with Maximilian, king of the Romans. The former of these monarchs, having had occasion to borrow a sum of one hundred thousand ducats, had proposed to Louis XI. that on his advancing the money, its repayment should be secured by the possession of the counties of Perpignan and Roussillon, which were accordingly surrendered to him; but when, some years afterwards, Ferdinand offered to return the money, Louis, being unwilling to relinquish a district which adjoined his own dominions, refused to perform the stipulations of the agreement. This undisguised instance of perfidy, gave occasion to complaints and remonstrances on the part of Ferdinand, to which neither Louis nor his successor had hitherto paid the least regard. But no sooner had Charles determined on his expedition into Italy, than he proposed to restore these provinces to Ferdinand, in such a manner as seemed most likely to secure his future favour. By an embassy dispatched for this purpose, he represented to the Spanish monarch,

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narch, that whilst the crown of France had been attacked on all sides by powerful enemies, and compelled to defend itself at the same time against the late emperor Frederic, the king of England, and the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, both he and his father had retained these provinces, notwithstanding the threats and remonstrances of the court of Spain; but that having now repulsed or conciliated all his enemies, and having nothing to apprehend from any hostile attack, he had resolved to restore these contested territories, without any other compensation than the friendship and alliance of Ferdinand. The restitution accordingly took place, and was soon followed by a treaty between the two sovereigns, in which Ferdinand solemnly engaged, that he would not interfere in the concerns of Naples, notwithstanding the near degree of relationship which subsisted between him and the sovereign of that kingdom and his family, to whom he was connected by the ties of both consanguinity and affinity. (a) Charles did not, however, consider this treaty, which had been concluded with the ambassadors

(a) The two sovereigns were brothers children, and Ferdinand of Naples had married, for his second wife, Joanna, the sister of Ferdinand of Spain.

bassadors of Ferdinand at Lyons, as an effectual security for his neutrality ; for he soon afterwards dispatched his envoys to Madrid, who required and obtained the personal and solemn oath, not only of Ferdinand himself, but of his queen Isabella, and their son John, prince of Castile, then of mature age, to the same effect.

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A. M. 15.

The disagreement between Charles and Maximilian, king of the Romans, was of a much more delicate nature. During the life of his father, Charles had been betrothed to Margaretta, the daughter of Maximilian, who was accordingly sent to France whilst an infant, to be educated among her future subjects ; but when the time approached that the nuptial ceremony should have taken place, circumstances occurred which induced Charles to change his intentions, and to disregard his engagements. Francis, duke of Bretagne, who then held his rich and extensive domains as an independent prince, finding himself at open war with the French monarch, had been led, by the hopes of a powerful alliance, to engage his daughter Anna, in marriage to Maximilian. After the death of the duke, Charles persevered in his hostilities, and notwithstanding the interference of

And with
the emperor elect
Maximilian.

Henry

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Henry VII. of England, who sent a body of troops to the relief of the young duchess, the greater part of her territories was occupied by the French troops, and the duchess herself, besieged in her capital of Rennes, was at length obliged to submit to the terms imposed by the conqueror. The youth and beauty of the duchess, and the important advantages which Charles foresaw from the union of her dominions with his own, induced him, notwithstanding his engagements with Margaretta of Austria, to make her proposals of marriage, and her consent being with some difficulty obtained, the nuptials were accordingly carried into immediate effect. Nor can it be denied, that this union, politically considered, was highly judicious ; as it secured to Charles the command of a country naturally formed to be governed with his own, and at the same time, prevented the powerful family of Austria from establishing itself in the vicinity of the French dominions.(a) But with respect to Maximilian, the

(a) *Memoire sur le mariage de Charles Dauphin, &c.* inserted in the collection of *Du Mont*, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 404. *Bacon. Hist. Hen. VII.* The events above related gave rise to many singular discussions, of which some account may be found in the Appendix, No. XXV.

the conduct of Charles included two in dignities of the most unpardonable nature: the repudiating his innocent daughter, and the depriving him of his betrothed wife. Maximilian was not, however, prepared for hostile measures; and the animosity to which these events gave rise, soon became a matter of negotiation, in which Lodovico Sforza interposed his good offices. In the month of June, 1493, a treaty was concluded between the two sovereigns, by which it was agreed, that Margaretta should be restored to her father, with her intended dowry, and that Charles should be released from his contract.^(a) The disappointment of Maximilian, Lodovico alleviated by recommending to him his niece, Bianca Maria, whom Maximilian soon afterwards took to wife; whilst his daughter Margaretta found a husband in John, prince of Castile, the son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy; after whose death, in 1497, she married Filiberto, duke of Savoy.

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Nor did Charles VIII. in preparing for
VOL. I. P his

(a) *Cerie, Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 898.*

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Negotiates
with the
Florentines
for their as-
sistance.

his Neapolitan expedition, implicitly rely upon the representations of Lodovico Sforza, with respect to the disposition of the other states of Italy. On the contrary, he dispatched his emissaries, with directions to obtain, if not the assurance of their assistance, at least the knowledge of their intentions. The principal argument on which he relied for conciliating their favour, was the avowal of his determination to attempt the recovery of Constantinople, and the duty imposed upon all Christendom to assist him in so magnanimous and pious an enterprize. In order to obtain greater credit to these assertions, he assumed the titles of king of Sicily and Jerusalem. His chief endeavours were, however, employed to prevail upon the Florentines and the pope to withdraw themselves from their alliance with Ferdinand. The answer which he obtained from the former, was equivocal and unsatisfactory. Whilst they assured the king, in private, of their good wishes, they excused themselves from a public avowal of them, lest they should incur the resentment of Ferdinand of Naples, who, by turning his arms against the Tuscan territory, might render it the seat of the war. Such were the sentiments of the Florentine government, as sanctioned by Piero de' Medici ;

dicti; but the intelligence of the intentions of the French monarch was received with inconceivable joy, by a considerable number of the most powerful inhabitants of Florence, who were hostile to the views of Piero, and conceived, that, in the commotions likely to arise from such a contest, they should find an opportunity of divesting him of his authority. Among these, the most distinguished by their wealth and rank were, Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, and grandsons of the elder Lorenzo, the brother of Cosmo, *Pater Patria*. These young men, jealous of the superior authority of Piero and his brothers in the affairs of Florence, had endeavoured, by their liberality and affability, and above all, by avowing a decided attachment to the liberties of the people, to establish themselves in the favour of the public; in which attempt they had not been wholly unsuccessful. From them and their friends, the envoys of Charles received a secret assurance, that if he would persevere in his intentions, they would not only promote his views to the utmost of their power, but would also undertake to supply him with a large sum of money, towards defraying the expenses of his expedition. The conduct of the two brothers was, however,

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regarded with a suspicious eye. They had already shewn a decided partiality to the French king; and certain information having been obtained of a secret correspondence with him, their persons were seized upon by the orders of Piero de' Medici, who has been accused of having entertained private causes of resentment against them, and of wishing to avail himself of this opportunity of gratifying his enmity, by depriving them of their lives. (a) Their misconduct was, however, apparent; and, after a long discussion, and the interference of many powerful friends, they were ordered, by a lenient sentence, to remain at their villas in the vicinity of Florence; but they soon broke the conditions imposed

(a) Nardi gives us reason to believe, that there were very sufficient grounds for the proceedings against the two brothers, which he adverts to, as having fallen within his own knowledge many years afterwards, "Ma havendo io
 "saputo, dopo molti anni, per qualche altra via, che poi
 "il detto Giovanni de' Medici era stato honorato del titolo
 "del Maestro di Hostello, cioè Maestro di Casa, del Re di
 "Francia, Carlo VIII. non però per alcuna altra instante
 "cagione, che per haver proccacciato, forse in tempo trop-
 "po alieno, la gratia del Re di Francia, allora inimico
 "della città, ho potuto facilmente credere, che da questo
 "fosse proceduta la suspitione e diffidentia, e consequen-
 "temente l'odio che in questo fatto si dimostrò à questi
 "duoi fratelli." *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 10.*

imposed on them, and fled to France, where, by their personal interference, they encouraged the king to persevere in his claims.

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In order to palliate these proceedings to the French king, and to conciliate, if possible, his indulgence and favour, Gentile, bishop of Arezzo, and Piero Soderini, afterwards Gonfaloniere for life, were dispatched as ambassadors of the republic to France.^(a) They found the king in the city of Thou-louse, where, being admitted to an interview, they intreated him not to press the citizens of Florence to take an immediate and decided part in the approaching contest, and represented to him the dangers which they must inevitably incur by such a measure. They artfully extolled the greatness of his name, the extent of his dominions, and the numbers and courage of his troops; but they also suggested to him, that he was separated from Italy by the formidable barrier of the Alps, and that, whilst he was hastening to the protection of the Florentines, they might fall a sacrifice to the merited resentment of Ferdinand of Naples. At the same time they assured

Dismisses
their am-
bassadors
in displea-
sure.

(a) *Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine*, iii. 190.

THE LIFE OF

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A. Et. 18.

sured him, that as soon as he should have surmounted these obstacles, and made his appearance in Italy, he should find them disposed to render him every assistance in their power. The purport of this discourse was too obvious to escape the animadversion of Charles, whose indignation it excited to such a degree, that he not only drove the ambassadors from his presence, but threatened instantly to seize upon the property of all the Florentines within his realm, and to expel them from his dominions: and although he was prevented, by his advisers, from carrying this purpose into execution, he ordered that the agents of Piero de' Medici should instantly be sent from the city of Lyons, where the family had carried on the business of bankers for a long course of years; thereby clearly manifesting, from what quarter he conceived the opposition to arise.(a)

Alexander
VI. remon-
strates with
him on his
attempt.

For the purpose of ascertaining the views of Alexander VI. Charles had dispatched a second embassy to Rome, at the head of which was his general and confidential friend D'Aubigny. The success of this mission was highly

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. i. 1. 32.

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highly desirable to him; as its principal object was to obtain from Alexander; by promises on the one hand, or by threats on the other, the formal investiture of the kingdom of Naples. If, as it has been asserted by many historians, Alexander had before concurred in inciting the king to this undertaking, he did not scruple, on the present occasion, to change his sentiments; and his reply was not favourable to the hopes of Charles. He entreated him to remember, that the kingdom of Naples had been three times conceded by the holy see to the family of Aragon, the investiture of Ferdinand having expressly included that of his son Alfonso; that these adjudications could not be rendered void, unless it appeared judicially that Charles had a superior right, which could not be affected by these acts of investiture, in which there was an express reservation, that they should not prejudice the rights of any person; that, the dominion of Naples being under the immediate protection of the holy see, the pontiff could not persuade himself that his most Christian majesty would so openly oppose himself to the church, as to hazard, without its concurrence, a hostile attack on that kingdom; that it would be more consistent with his known moderation

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Æt. 18.

moderation and dignity, to assert his pretensions in a civil form; in which case, Alexander, as the sole judge of the right, declared himself ready to enter upon the discussion of the claims of the respective parties. These remonstrances he afterwards more fully enforced in an apostolic brief, in which he exhorted the French monarch to unite his arms with those of the other sovereigns of Europe, against the common enemies of Christendom, and to submit his claims on the kingdom of Naples to the decision of a pacific judicature.(a) Instead of altering the purpose, these

(a) Although Guicciardini, Rucellai, and other contemporary authors, expressly assert, that Charles VIII. was incited by Alexander VI. to attempt the conquest of Naples, in which they have been implicitly followed by subsequent writers, I have not ventured to adopt their representations in my narrative; I. because Commynes, who has related, at great length, the motives by which Charles VIII. was induced to this undertaking, adverts not, in the most distant manner, to any invitation from the pope on that subject; on the contrary, he attributes the determination of the king solely to the persuasions of Lodovico Sforza, and informs us, that he sent Perron de Basche as his ambassador to Rome, apparently to try the disposition of the pontiff, whom he erroneously names Innocent. v. *Memoires*, liv. vii. chap. 2. II. In the letter from Lodovico Sforza to Charles

these admonitions only excited the resentment of the king, who, in return, avowed his determination to expel Alexander from the pontifical throne.^(a)

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A. M. 12.

The answers obtained by the envoys of the king, from the duke of Savoy, the republic of Venice, and other governments of Italy, expressed in general terms their great respect for the French monarch, and their reluctance to engage in so dangerous a contest; but the duke of Ferrara, although he had married a daughter of Ferdinand, king of

He is encouraged
by the duke
of Ferrara.

Charles VIII. as given by Corio, *p.* 891, the pope is not even mentioned, although several other sovereigns are specified as being favourable to the intended enterprize. III. In the apostolic brief issued by Alexander, and inserted by the same author in his History, we discover no reason to infer that the pope had, at any previous time, entertained a different opinion from that which he there professes, and which is decidedly adverse to the interference of the king in the concerns of Italy. Guicciardini, actuated perhaps by his abhorrence of Alexander VI. has not discussed this subject with his usual accuracy; and the reader finds it difficult to discover, even in his copious narrative, the real predisposing causes of an enterprize, which gave rise to all the important events recorded in his History.

(a) *Benedetti, Fatto d'arme del Tarro, tradotto da Domenichi, p. 5. Ed. Ven. 1545.*

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A. Æt. 12.

of Naples, actuated, as has been supposed, by the hope of availing himself of the aid of the French against his powerful enemies the Venetians, did not hesitate to encourage the French monarch, in the most open manner, to persevere in his claims.(a)

The

(a) Respecting the conduct of the duke of Ferrara on this occasion, some discordance of opinion appears among the historians of Italy. Muratori asserts, that he exerted his efforts to dissuade Lodovico Sforza from his imprudent design of inviting the French into Italy. "Fu adoperato Ercole duca di Ferrara, per rimuovere Lodovico dalla pazzia sua risoluzione di tirar l'armi Franzesi in Italia, nè egli omise ufficio alcuno per ottener l'intento." &c. *Annali*, ix. 569. But Guicciardini, on the contrary, informs us, that Ercole abetted the enterprise, and assigns his motives for it at length. In deciding between these eminent historians, of whom the one was a contemporary, and the other has in general drawn his information from the documents of the times, it becomes necessary to resort to further evidence. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme del Tarro*, expressly asserts, that Charles was invited into Italy by Lodovico Sforza, *Ercole duke of Ferrara*, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and Lorenzo (the son of Pier-Francesco) de' Medici; assigning as a reason for it (which strongly confirms the idea that Alexander VI. was uniformly hostile to the measure) that the aversion in which the pope was held by some of the cardinals, induced them to wish for a change in the pontificate, *v. p.* 5. And from the History of Ferrara, by Sardi, it appears, that Ercole accompanied Lodovico Sforza to meet the king at Alexandria. "Passò Carlo
" in

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A. Et. 18.Indecision
of Charles
VIII.

The negotiations and precautions resorted to by Charles, preparatory to his Italian expedition, were such as a wise adviser would have suggested, and a prudent commander would not fail to adopt. He was also assiduous in collecting those necessary supplies of warlike stores, ammunition, and artillery of various kinds, the use of which had then been lately introduced, and on which he chiefly relied for the success of his undertaking. Yet, if we may believe a writer who himself acted no unimportant part in the transactions of the times, the conduct of the French monarch was a series of obstinacy, folly, and indecision. (a) "The king," says he, "had neither money nor talents for such an enterprise; the success of which can only be attributed to the grace of God, who shewed his power most manifestly on this occasion." And again, "The king was very young, weak in body, obstinate, surrounded by few persons of prudence or experience; money

"in Italia," says he, "incontrato dal Moro, e dal duca Ercole, in Alessandria." *Sardi, Hist. Ferr. lib. x. p. 194.* From all which, it may be clearly inferred, that the duke of Ferrara took an active part in bringing the French into Italy.

(a) *Memoires de Commynes. liv. vii. chap. 4. p. 192.*

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“ money he had none, insomuch, that before
 “ his departure he was obliged to borrow
 “ one hundred thousand francs from a banker
 “ at Genoa, at an enormous interest, as well
 “ as to resort to other places for assistance.
 “ He had neither tent nor pavilion, and in
 “ this state he began his march into Lom-
 “ bardy. One thing only seemed favourable to
 “ him; he had a gallant company, consist-
 “ ing chiefly of young gentlemen, though
 “ with little discipline. This expedition
 “ must therefore have been the work of God,
 “ both in going and returning; for the un-
 “ derstanding of its conductors could render
 “ it very little service, although it must be ac-
 “ knowledged that it has terminated in the
 “ acquisition of no small share of honour and
 “ glory to their master.”(a) Even at the mo-
 ment of departure, although the king was
 unceasingly pressed by the envoys of Lodo-
 vico

(a) It appears from Giustiniani, *Annali di Genoa*,
 p. 249, that the Genoese banker was Antonio Sauli, who first
 advanced to the king 70,000 ducats, and afterwards 25,000
 more, at Rome. If we may judge of the supposed risk of
 loss, by the rate of interest, it was regarded as a hazardous
 adventure; such interest being no less than cent. per cent.—
 “ à gros interest pour cent de foire-en foire.” *Communes*.
liv. vii. proem, p. 184.

CHAP.
III.A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 146

vico Sforza, he displayed a strong disinclination to commence his journey: and as he fluctuated according to the advice of his counsellors, he changed his purpose from day to day. At length he determined to set forwards on his expedition; "but even then," says Commynes, "when I had begun my journey I was sent back, and told that the attempt was relinquished." (a) How then shall we reconcile the external demonstrations of perseverance, prudence, and magnanimity, to which we have before adverted, with these internal marks of imbecility, and weakness of mind? In truth, the history of mankind is susceptible of being represented under very different aspects; and whilst one narrator informs us of the ostensible conduct of sovereigns and their agents on the public stage of life, another intrudes himself behind the curtain, and discovers to us by what paltry contrivances the wires are played, and by what contemptible causes those effects, which

(a) "A la fin le Roy se delibera de partir; & montay à cheval des premiers, esperant passer les monts en moindre compagnie. Toutefois je fus remandé, disant que tout estoit rompu." *Mem. de Com. liv. vii. chap. 4. p. 193.*

CHAP. which we so highly admire, are in fact produced.
III.

A. D. 1498.

A. Et. 12.

The king of Naples endeavours to prevail on him to relinquish his expedition.

Whilst preparations were thus making by Charles for his intended expedition, the sagacious mind of Ferdinand of Naples had maturely compared the probable impulse of the attack, with the known practicability of resistance, and the result of his deliberations was such as to occasion to him no small share of anxiety. He well knew, that the arms of the French king were not only superior to any force which he, with his utmost exertions, could oppose to them, but in all probability to that of all the Italian states united. On his allies he could place no firm reliance; and if he did not suspect their duplicity, or dread their inconstancy, he could only expect them to act as circumstances might prescribe; or in other words, to attach themselves to the conquering party. From his relative, the king of Spain, he could hope for no assistance; for he had solemnly disavowed and abjured his cause; and if he resorted to the aid of his own subjects, he only saw, on every hand, the indications of tumult and rebellion, the natural consequences of a severity, which had alienated the affections of his barons, and reduced his people to

CHAP.
III.A. D. 1493.
A. 22. 14.

to servitude. Under these circumstances, he resolved to try whether it might not yet be possible; by prudent negotiation and timely submission, to avert the dangers with which he was threatened; and in this respect he proposed to avail himself of the interference of Carlotta, the daughter of his second son Federigo, who was related to Charles by consanguinity, and had been educated in his court.^(a) He also dispatched, as his ambassador, Camillo Pandone, who had formerly been his representative in France, with offers to Charles of a considerable annual tribute, if he would relinquish his enterprize: but the humiliation of Ferdinand rather excited the hopes, than averted the purpose, of his adversary; and his ambassador was remanded without a public hearing. In his applications to Lodovico Sforza, although he met with an exterior civility, he was, in fact, equally unsuccessful; nor could he, indeed, reasonably hope for any satisfactory engagement with that ever-variable politician, who, in weaving the web for the destruction of others, was at length entangled in it himself.

Nor

(a) Federigo of Aragon married Anna, daughter of Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who was brother of Carlotta, queen of Louis XI.

CHAR.
III.

A. D. 1494.
A. Et. 12.

Prepares
for his de-
fence.

Death of
Ferdinand.

Nor was Ferdinand, whilst he was thus endeavouring to avert, by negotiation, the dangers with which he was threatened, remiss in collecting together such a force as his own states afforded for his defence. A fleet of about forty galleys was speedily prepared for action; and by great exertions and expense, a body of troops was collected, which, including the various descriptions of soldiery, amounted to about seven thousand men. But whilst Ferdinand was thus endeavouring to secure himself from the approaching storm, he found a more effectual shelter from its violence in a sudden death, hastened, perhaps, by the joint effects of vexation and fatigue, on the twenty-fifth day of January, 1494, when he had nearly attained the seventy-first year of his age.(a)

The stipulations entered into between Ferdinand and Alexander VI. had, however,
for

(a) Burcardo, who made a journey to Naples, soon after the death of the king, relates, that Ferdinand, having found himself indisposed at his villa of Traperbola, returned to Naples, where, in dismounting from his horse, he fell senseless, and died on the following day, without either confession or sacraments. His confessor cried out to him, in vain, to repent of his sins and his opposition to the church,
for

for the present, effectually secured the favour of the pontiff, which, on this occasion, was of the greatest importance to Alfonso, the son and successor of Ferdinand, who found no difficulty in obtaining the bull of investiture. He was accordingly crowned, with great pomp, at Naples, on the seventh day of May, 1494, by Giovanni Borgia, nephew of the pope, and cardinal of Monreale, who was sent from Rome to perform that ceremony. Immediately after his accession to the crown, Alfonso appointed the celebrated Pontano his chief secretary; nor, if we may judge from the commendations bestowed on him by the Neapolitan scholars, was this the only instance in which he shewed his respect for literature. (a)

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III.

A. D. 1494.

A. Æt. 19.

Alfonso II.
succeeds to
the crown
of Naples.

Soon

for he gave not the slightest symptom of contrition. *Burcard. Diar. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi*, 1. 108. Bernardino Rota has honoured his memory by the following lines:—

“ Fernandus fueram, felicitis conditor ævi,

“ Qui pater heu patriæ, qui decus orbis eram;

“ Quem timuere duces, reges coluere, brevis nunc

“ Urna habet; humanis i modo fide bonis.”

Carm. illustr. Post. Ital. viii. 156.

(a) To this period we may refer the beautiful Latin verses of Sanazzaro, which celebrate the life and actions of

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III.A. D. 1494.
A. Et. 19.

Soon after the ceremonial of the coronation, the nuptials of Geoffroi Borgia with Sancia of Aragon were celebrated, the bride being at that time seventeen, and the husband only thirteen

Alfonso, and advert to many circumstances either not noticed, or imperfectly related by the historians of the times. *v. Sanaz. Eleg. lib. ii. El. 1.* His accession to the crown is also commemorated by Cariteo, in a Canzone, which the reader will find in the Appendix, No. XXVI. and wherein he particularly refers to the meditated invasion of Naples by the arms of the French; to which circumstance he also alludes in other parts of his works, with that indignation and contempt of Charles VIII, to which the occasion may readily be supposed to have given rise; as in the following

SONETTO.

- “ Cantan di chiari autor’ le sacre carte,
 “ Che li giganti stolidi, una volta,
 “ Con temeraria voglia, audace, e stolta,
 “ Tentar salir nella superna parte.
 “ Onde non col favor del ferreo Marte,
 “ Ma con la man di Giove, armata, e sciolta,
 “ Gli fu la vita, con l’audacia, tolta;
 “ E’l sangue e membra lor per terra sparte.
 “ Dal seme de li quai, produtta in terra,
 “ *La Simia* fu; che i superi beffeggia,
 “ Imitando i paterni impii costumi.
 “ Non è dunque miracol che si veggia
 “ *Un brutto animaletto* ancor far guerra,
 “ Col fero volto, a li celesti numi.”

thirteen years of age. The magnificence of these formalities was as ill suited to the alarming situation of the Aragonese family, as the expense was to their necessities. The pope and the king seemed to contend with each other which should be most lavish of his bounty; but Alexander dispensed only the favours and dignities of the church, whilst Alfonso sacrificed the revenues of his states, and diminished those pecuniary resources of which he stood so greatly in need. Lodovico, the son of Don Henry, natural brother of the king, was, on this occasion, received into the sacred college, and was afterwards known by the name of cardinal of Aragon; and the pope released Alfonso, during his life, from the nominal tribute, so constantly, but ineffectually, claimed by the holy see from the sovereigns of Naples. On the other hand, the king invested Giovanni Borgia, eldest son of the pope, already created duke of Gandia, with the principality of Tricarica, and other rich domains in the kingdom of Naples, of the annual value of twelve thousand ducats; to which he also added the promise of the first of the seven great offices of state that should become vacant. Nor was Cæsar Borgia, the second son of Alexander, forgotten on this

Q 2

occasion;

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A. D. 1494.

A. Et. 19.

Marrriage of
Geoffroi
Borgia,
with Sancia
of Aragon.

CHAP.
III.A. D. 1494.
A. EL. 19.

occasion ; another grant of a considerable income from the kingdom of Naples being thought necessary to enable him to support the dignity of his rank, as one of the cardinals of the church. Two hundred thousand ducats were expended in the dowry and paraphernalia of the bride ; and tournaments and feasts, continued for several days, seemed to afford both the people and their rulers a short respite from their approaching calamities.

Alfonso
prepares
for war.

The alliance and support of the pope being thus secured, Alfonso prepared for war ; and as a proof that he meant, in the first instance, to resort to vigorous measures, he dismissed from his capital the Milanese ambassador, at the same time sequestrating the revenues of the duchy of Bari, which had been conferred by his father on Lodovico Sforza. By a secret intercourse with the cardinal Fregoso, and Obietto da Fiesco, who then enjoyed great authority in Genoa, he attempted to deprive the duke of Milan of his dominion over that state ; and that nothing might be wanting on his part to secure himself against the impending attack, he dispatched ambassadors to the sultan Bajazet, to represent

represent to him, that the avowed object of the French king was the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, and to request that he would immediately send a strong reinforcement to his relief. (a) The lessons of experience, which form the wisdom of individuals, seem to be lost on the minds of rulers; otherwise Alfonso might have discovered, that his most effectual safeguard was in the affections of his people, who, if his conduct had entitled him to their favour, would have been found sufficiently powerful for his defence; whilst, on the contrary, the aversion of his own subjects, accumulated by repeated instances of a cruel and unrelenting disposition, both before and after his accession to the throne, was an internal malady which no foreign aid could remove.

CHAP.
III.

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The opinions, debates, and negotiations, to which the intended expedition gave rise among the smaller states of Italy, each of whom had their ambassadors and partisans constantly employed, combined to form such an intricate tissue of political intrigue, as it would be equally useless and tiresome to unravel. It is not, however, difficult to perceive, that these petty sovereigns, instead of uniting

Views and
conduct
the small
states.

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital. lib. i. 1. 34.*

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uniting in any great and general plan of defence, were each of them labouring to secure his private interests, or to avail himself of any circumstance in the approaching commotions, that might contribute to his own aggrandizement. In the conflagration that was speedily to involve the political fabric of Italy, the contest, therefore, was not, who should most assist in extinguishing the flames, but who should obtain the greatest share of the spoil.

Charles
VIII. en-
gages Itali-
an stipen-
diaries.

The determination of Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples, now became every day more apparent. D'Aubigny, one of the most experienced commanders in the service of the French monarch, had, after his interview with the pope, been directed to remain in Italy; where he had already the command of a small body of French troops, which had been assembled in the territories of Milan: (a) and by the assistance of Lodovico Sforza,

(a) Commynes, who calls him "un bon et sage chevalier," says, that he had "quelques deux cens hommes d'armes." *lib. vii. chap. 5.* but Corio, a writer of equal credit, says that he had "mille cavalli Francesi." *Storia*

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III.A. D. 1494.
A. B. 29.

Sforza, and his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, several of the Italian nobility and condottieri, regardless to whom they sold their services, undertook to furnish the king with a stipulated number of cavalry, or men at arms. Among these mercenaries, were some of the chief barons of the Roman state, and particularly those of the families of Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli.^(a) This daring instance of insubordination in the Roman nobility, alarmed the pontiff, and afforded too plausible a pretext for those severities which he afterwards exercised against them.

In order to concert together the means for their common defence, it was proposed, between Alfonso and the pope, that they should meet at the town of Vico, about twenty miles from Rome, whither Alexander accordingly repaired,

di Milan. par. vii. p. 927. This faithful soldier, and judicious counsellor, to whom the success of the expedition may be chiefly attributed, was of Scottish origin, and is designated by Summonte, in his *History of Naples*, vol. iii. p. 513. (Corr. 580.) "Everardo Estuardo," (Everard or Edward Stuart) "Scozzese, per sopra nome, detto Mon-
"signore di Obegni."

(a) These auxiliaries are enumerated by Corio, *Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 923.*

CHAP.
III.A. D. 1494.
A. Et. 19.

repaired, accompanied by many of the cardinals, the Venetian and Florentine legates, and about five hundred horse. He was there met by Alfonso, who, with unavailing humility, professed his willingness to rest his cause on the decision of the sacred college and the ambassadors of the neutral courts. (a) After this interview, Alexander returned in haste to Rome, with the resolution of suppressing the Roman nobility, who were now in arms, and openly avowed their attachment to the cause of the French; but he found them so posted, and their numbers so considerably increased, that he thought it advisable to relinquish the attempt for the present, and to reserve his vengeance for a future day. Alfonso now determined to take the command of his army in person, and appointed his brother Federigo admiral of his fleet. With the former, it was his intention to advance into Romagna, and oppose himself to the threatened hostilities of D'Aubigny; whilst the latter was directed to proceed to Genoa, for the purpose of affording the ci-

(a) Corio, *Storia di Milan*, parte vii, p. 925.

sizens of that place an opportunity of freeing themselves from the dominion of the house of Sforza. (a)

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III.

A. D. 1494.

A. ET. 19.

The cardinal Fregoso and his nephew, with Obietto da Fiesco, and other Genoese exiles, accompanied the armament of Federico, which was provided with materials for burning the fleet in the harbour of Genoa, and for destroying the preparations which the French had, for some time past, been making there. About the end of the month of June, the Neapolitan flotilla sailed from Civita Vecchia, having on board four thousand soldiers, and a considerable quantity of artillery. Its arrival in the gulf of Spezia was immediately announced to Louis, duke of Orleans, who had preceded Charles in his expedition into Italy, and had arrived at Asti, where he was employed in concerting with Lodovico Sforza the measures to be adopted in commencing

Unsuccessful expedition of the Neapolitans against Genoa.

(a) The exertions of the monarch were celebrated by the eminent scholars who adorned his court; and Sanazzaro, at this juncture, produced one of his finest Italian poems, in which he has endeavoured to inspire his fellow-soldiers with courage and resolution, in defence of their sovereign and their country. This canzone is given in the Appendix, No. XXVII.

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A. Æt. 19.

mencing the war. Selecting for his purpose a body of two thousand infantry and five hundred light-armed horse, he repaired to Genoa, where the partizans of the French had prepared for service seven large ships with heavy artillery, besides several smaller vessels, on which they had embarked six hundred men, under the command of the French general D'Urfé.^(a) Detachments from Genoa were also sent to protect the coast; and, in an attempt made by the Aragonese to possess themselves of Porto Venere, they were repulsed with some loss, and retired to Leghorn, to repair their damage. They soon, however, proceeded again towards the coast of Genoa, and effected a landing at Rapallo, where they began to intrench themselves; but the duke of Orleans, having assumed the command of the Genoese fleet, which had been reinforced by four large ships, and having taken on board about a thousand Swiss mercenaries, hastened towards that place; whilst a body of troops, under the command of Anton-Maria da Sanseverino and Giovanni Adorno, were directed to proceed along the coast, and co-operate

(a) Called by Corio, "Monsignore Orfeo." *Storia di Milan.* par. vii. p. 927.

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IIIA. D. 1494.
A. Et. 19

co-operate with the duke.(a) On the first attack, the Swiss troops were repulsed by the Neapolitans; but the detachment by land arriving to their assistance, the engagement was renewed; and the Neapolitans, conceiving themselves likely to be surrounded, took to flight, and abandoned their enterprize, with the loss of about two hundred men killed, besides a considerable number of prisoners. To this victory, the heavy artillery of one of the French ships, which was brought to bear upon the Neapolitan troops, greatly contributed.(b)

Such

(a) *Giustiniani, Annali di Genoa, lib. v. p. 249. b.*

(b) It belonged to Commynes, who denominates it "une grosse galeace (qui estoit mienne) qui patronisoit un appelé Albert Mely, sur laquelle estoit le dict duc et les principaux. Et la dicte galeace avoit grande artillerie, et grosses pieces, (car elle estoit puissante) et s'approcha si pres de terre que l'artillerie deconfit presque l'ennemi, qui jamais n'en avoit veu de semblable, et estoit chose nouvelle en Italie." *liv. vii. chap. 5. p. 194.* The use of artillery was, however, known in Italy, about the year 1380, in the wars between the Genoese and the Venetians. *Summante, Storia di Napoli, iii. 497. (Corr. 563.) Malavolti, Storia di Siena. p. 170. Guicciardini, lib. i.* The latter author, however, acknowledges that the French had brought this diabolical implement—"questo più tosto diabolico che umano instrumento"—to much greater perfection, and employed it with more celerity and effect, than had before been

CHAP
III.

A. D. 1493.

A. R. 19.

Such of the fugitives as fell into the hands of the Genoese, after being plundered, were suffered to escape; but the Swiss shewed no mercy to the vanquished; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of their allies, stormed and plundered the town of Rapallo, where, among other enormities, they slaughtered even the sick in the hospitals. The indignation which this cruelty excited at Genoa, had nearly effected that which the Neapolitan armament had failed to accomplish. On the return of the troops to that city, the populace rose and massacred several of the Swiss soldiery; and the duke of Orleans, instead of returning from his expedition in triumph, was under the necessity of taking precautions for

been done. Cornazzano, in his poem *De Re Militari*, narrates the discovery of fire-arms at considerable length. The larger pieces were denominated *Bombardi*, the smaller *Scozzetti*, and *Spingarde*.

“ Nacque così madonna la bombarda,

“ Di quel che venne le cose iterando;

“ Et dui figli hebbe, schiopetto e spingarda.”

Relating the effects of the first of these implements (the bombarda, or cannon) he adds:

“ ———— dove va in persona,

“ Ogni edificio gli fa riverenza.”

Cornaz. de re Milit. lib. iii. p. 58. &c.

for his safety before he ventured to disembark.(a)

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In the mean time, it became necessary to check the progress of D'Aubigny, who, having now collected a considerable force, had entered Romagna, and was proceeding, without interruption, towards the territories of Naples. The command of the detachment intended for this purpose, was relinquished by Alfonso to his son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, who, at the head of a body of troops, superior in number to the French and their allies, took his station between the branches of the Po. He there presented himself for some hours in order of battle, and by his courage and promptitude conciliated to his cause no small share of popular favour.(b) For some time, the French and Neapolitan armies were encamped within a mile of each other; but D'Aubigny prudently declined a contest. As the enemy increased in force, Ferdinand

in

Ferdinand,
duke of Ca-
labria, op-
poses the
French in
Romagna.

(a) Giustiniani, *Annali di Genoa*, lib. v. p. 250.

(b) At this time, Cariteo endeavoured to incite the states of Italy to concord and confidence in each other, and to an united defence against the common enemy, in an energetic canzone, which will be found in the Appendix, No. XXVIII.

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in his turn was compelled to retreat. The intelligence of the disaster at Rapallo, and the certainty of the approach of Charles VIII. had contributed to dispirit the Neapolitan troops; and at the moment when the duke of Calabria ought, by the vigour and decision of his measures, to have confirmed the wavering minds of the Italian potentates, he gave the omen of his future ruin, by retiring under the walls of Faenza; where, instead of attempting offensive operations, he was satisfied with fortifying himself against an attack.(a)

Charles
VIII. crosses
the Alps.

On the twenty-second day of August, 1494, Charles took his departure from Vienne; and, passing through Grenoble, crossed the Alps, and arrived at Turin; where he was received with great honour by Bianca, widow of Charles, duke of Savoy. Of the splendid appearance of the duchess and her court, a particular description is given by one of the attendants of the French monarch.(b)

Such

(a) Guicciardini. lib. i. vol. i. p. 48.

(b) André de la Vigne, was secretary to Anne of Bretagne, queen of Charles VIII. and accompanied the king on this expedition, of which he has left a journal, in prose and verse, entitled, *Le Vergier d'Honneur*, which has been attributed

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A. Æt. 19.

Such was the profusion of jewels displayed on this occasion, that Charles, whose resources were not very ample, conceived that a favourable opportunity was afforded him for improving them; of this he accordingly availed himself, by borrowing a great part of these superfluous ornaments, which he immediately pledged for a sum of twelve thousand ducats. During his residence at Turin, he was entertained by such exhibitions as were then esteemed the most extraordinary efforts of ingenuity.

attributed, in part, to Octavien de St. Gelais, bishop of Angoulême; but the French critics have determined, that the complaint on the death of Charles VIII. and his epitaph, are the only parts of the work to which the bishop has any pretensions. Of this work there are two editions, both printed in Gothic characters at Paris, but without date, the one in folio, the other in quarto; the former of these, which has been consulted on this occasion, is entitled—

LE VERGIER D'HONNEUR, NOUVELLEMENT IMPRIME A PARIS, de l'interprinse et voyage de Naples. Auquel est comprins comment le roy, Charles huytiesme de ce nom, a banierre deployée, passa et repassa, de journee en journée, depuis Lyon jusques a Naples, et de Naples jusques a Lyon. Ensemble plusieurs aultres choses, faictes et composees par reverend pere en dieu Monsieur Octavien de Sainct Gelais, évesque d'Angoulesme, et par Maistre Andry de la Vigne, secrétaire de la royne, et de Monsieur le duc de Savoye, avec aultres.

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nuity.(a) On the sixth day of September, he quitted that city and proceeded to Chieri, where his progress was again retarded for some days, by the amusements and representations which had been prepared for him, in which the most beautiful women of Italy were selected to congratulate him on his approach, and to crown him *Champion of the honour of the fair*.(b) On his arrival at Asti he was met by Lodovico Sforza, accompanied by his duchess, Beatrice

(a) These exhibitions are thus described by André de la Vigne:—

- “ Labeur y vis bien dehait en pourpoint;
- “ Et pastoreaulx chanter de contrepoint
- “ Petis rondeaulx faits dessus leurs hystoires;
- “ Inventions de la loi de nature.
- “ Pareillement de cette descripture
- “ Bien compassees furent illic a flac
- “ Noe, Sem, Cham, y vis en portraiture,
- “ Et de la loi de grace leur figure;
- “ Puis Abraham, Jacob, et Isaac,
- “ Plusiers histoires de Lancelot du Lac,
- “ Celle d'Athenes du gran Cocordillac.” &c.

(b) *Champion de l'honneur des dames*. Of the taste of the monarch, and of the delicacy of his female attendants, some idea may be formed from the account given of these representations; one of which was a pretended *accouchement*. This exhibition is described in the rude verses of André de la Vigne. It is only to be regretted, that, from the nature
of

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Beatrice of Este, the splendor of whose dress and equipage astonished his followers. The attention of Lodovico had here provided him with a number of beautiful courtesans from Milan, who were honoured by the notice, and rewarded by the liberality of the French monarch. (a) At this place his expedition, had, however, nearly been brought to a premature termination; for he was seized with a disorder, which confined him for some days to his chamber, and is said to have endangered his life. (b)

Whilst the king remained at Asti, he received information of the success of the duke of Orleans at Genoa, and of the retreat of Ferdinand

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Ferdinand

of things, the curiosity of the monarch could not be gratified by his performing, in reality, the principal part on such an occasion himself. v. *Appendix, No. XXIX.*

(a) “Lodovico Sforza mandò al Rè molte formosissime matrone Milanese, con alcune delle quali pigliò amoroso piacere, e quelle presentò di preciosi anelli. D’indi per la mutation dell’aere Carlo s’infermò di varuole.” &c. *Corio, Storia Milanese, lib. vii. p. 935.*

(b) Historians have represented this disorder as the small-pox. Malavolti, in his History of Siena, says, that Charles was detained at Asti about a month; “ritenuto da quel male che da noi è domandato *Vajuolo*.” par. iii. p. 99. Commynes also denominates the disorder of the king,
“la

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A. Et. 19.

Ferdinand of Aragon before the arms of D'Aubigny. He did not, however, quit that place before the sixth day of October, when he proceeded to Casale, the capital city of the marquis of Montferrat. At this place he met with a reception similar to that which he had experienced at Turin, and repaid it in a similar manner by borrowing the jewels of the marchioness, who was the mother of the duchess

"la petite verole," and adds, that his life was in danger. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme sul Tarro*, p. 7, informs us, that, from change of air, Charles was seized with a fever; "e mandò fuori alcuni segni che si chiamano *epinillide*; (*'ερινυλιδæ*, night-pimples) i nostri le chiamano *Vajuole*." From the extreme licentiousness in which the king had indulged himself, it is not, however, improbable that his complaint was of a different nature, and that the loathsome disorder, which, within the space of a few months afterwards, began to spread itself over Italy, and was thence communicated to the rest of Europe, is of royal origin, and may be dated from this event. In favour of this supposition it may be observed, that this disease was much more violent in its symptoms, on its first appearance, than in aftertimes, and that its resemblance to the small-pox probably gave rise to the appellation by which it has since been known.

"Protinus informes totum per corpus achores
 "Rumpebant, faciemque horrendam, et pectora fœde
 "Turpebant; species morbi nova; pustula summæ
 "Glandis ad effigiem, et pituita marcida pingui."

Fracastor. Syphil. lib. i. l. 349.

duchess of Savoy, upon which he raised at Genoa a further sum of money. He then hastened with his army to Pavia, where some jealousy arose between him and Lodovico Sforza; who consented, as a pledge of his fidelity, to place the fortress of the city in his hands. On this occasion, Charles had an interview with his near relation Gian-Galeazzo, the unfortunate duke of Milan, who then lay at the point of death, a victim to the ambition of his uncle Lodovico. The duchess Isabella availed herself of this opportunity to throw herself at the feet of the monarch, to entreat his interference on behalf of her husband, and his forbearance towards her father and family; but the importunities of a daughter, a wife, and a mother, were lost on the depraved mind of Charles, and served only to excite the unfeeling remarks of his barbarian attendants.^(a) The duke did not long survive this interview; and Lodovico, having attained the height of his wishes, was saluted by a band of venal partisans, and a corrupt populace, as duke of Milan. His wife, Beatrice, daughter of Ercole duke of Ferrara, who had long

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His interview with Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan.

R 2

and

(a) "Elle avoit meilleur besoin," says Commines "de prier pour son mari et pour elle, qui étoit encore belle dame et jeune." *lib. vii. chap. vi. p. 196.*

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and arrogantly contended with Isabella for precedence in rank and honours, now enjoyed a complete, but temporary triumph over her rival, who was driven from the court of Milan, and obliged, with her children, to take refuge in an obscure and sickly cell of the castle of Pavia.(a)

Hesitates
respecting
the prosecu-
tion of
his enter-
prise.

On the arrival of Charles at Piacenza, a few days after this interview, he received intelligence of the death of the duke, Gian-Galeazzo; and although he had not the generosity to interfere on his behalf, he was shocked at a catastrophe which he had taken no measures to prevent, and celebrated his obsequies with great state and formality.(b) That the duke died by poison, administered to him at the

(a) "Isabella co i poveri figliuoloetti, vestiti di lugubri vestimenti, come prigioniera si richiuse in una camera, e gran tempo stette giacendo sopra la dura terra, che non vide aere." *Corio, Histor. Milanese, part. vii. p. 936.* This unfortunate princess is introduced by Bernardo Accolti, as thus lamenting her misfortunes:—

"Re padre, Re fratel, Duca in consorte
"Ebbi, e in tre anni, i tre rapì la morte."

Accolti. Op. ven. 1510.

(b) *Commines, Mem. lib. vii. chap. vii. p. 179 (Corr. 197.)*

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the instance of Lodovico Sforza, was the general opinion; and Theodoro of Pavia, an eminent physician, who had accompanied the king of France, in his interview with the duke, declared, that he had perceived manifest symptoms of its effects.(a) A sudden panic seized the French monarch. The perpetration of such a crime filled him with apprehensions for his own safety. He had already entertained well-grounded suspicions of the fidelity of Lodovico Sforza, and had experienced considerable difficulties in obtaining the necessary supplies for his troops. In this situation, he began seriously to hesitate on the expediency of prosecuting his expedition; and his doubts were increased by a communication from his general and grand-ecuyer, D'Urfé, then at Genoa, advising him to be on his guard against treachery. Such of his attendants as had been the first to encourage him to this undertaking, were now the most earnest in advising him to abandon it; and had not the Florentine exiles, and particularly Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, actuated by the hopes of supplanting the rival branch of their family, at this critical juncture interposed their

(a) Guicciardini, lib. i. p. 49.

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A. Æt. 19.Determines
to proceed
by way of
Florence to
Rome.

their solicitations, and offered their services to the king, it is probable, that Italy might yet have been saved from her impending calamities.(a)

Having recovered from his alarm, Charles quitted Piacenza on the twenty-fifth day of October. A question of great moment now presented itself for his consideration: whether he should proceed through the Tuscan and Roman territories directly to Naples, or, by forcing a passage through Romagna and the March of Ancona, enter that kingdom by the district of Abruzzo. The judicious determination of the king and his advisers on this occasion, was of the utmost importance to the success of his enterprize. In relinquishing the track through Romagna, he was not deterred by the opposition which he might there meet, from the duke of Calabria, who had already retreated before the arms of D'Aubigny; but he prudently considered, that, unless he could either secure the alliance of the pope and the Florentines, or disable them from resistance, he might, during his contest with Alfonso in Naples, be exposed to the hostile attack of these adjacent states. Instead, therefore,

(a) *Mem. de Commynes, liv. vii. chap. 7. p. 197.*

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fore, of directing his course towards Bologna, he ordered the duke de Mompensier, one of the princes of the family of Bourbon, to proceed with the advanced guard to Pontremoli, a town on the river Magro, which divides the Tuscan territory from that of Genoa; to which place, Charles followed with the remainder of his army, having passed the Apennines, by the mountain of Parma. From Pontremoli, Mompensier proceeded through the district of Luigiano to Fivizzano, a fortress belonging to the Florentines; and being there joined by the Swiss mercenaries, who had returned from Genoa, and brought with them several heavy pieces of artillery, the French attacked the castle, which they carried by storm, and put both the garrison and inhabitants to the sword. The town of Sarzana, which had been acquired by the prudence, and fortified under the directions of Lorenzo the Magnificent, next opposed their progress; and, although the number of soldiers employed in its defence was small, and the commander of little experience or reputation, yet such was the situation and strength of the place, and of the adjacent citadel of Sarzanella, that the carrying them by force was regarded as a matter of considerable difficulty. Nor could the French army long retain
its

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its position, in a situation between the sea and the mountains, where, from the sterility of the district, they could scarcely hope to obtain supplies. To proceed forwards, whilst these formidable positions remained in the hands of an enemy, was equally inconsistent with the honour and the safety of the king.(a)

Piero de'
Medici sur-
renders to
Charles
VIII. the
fortresses of
Tuscany.

In this emergency, the unhappy dissensions which prevailed among the citizens of Florence, again relieved the French from their difficulties. From the time that the approach of the king had been announced, the resentment of the inhabitants had been chiefly directed against Piero de' Medici, whom they considered as the principal cause of the dangers which they were likely to incur. On his part, Piero had endeavoured to regain their confidence, by active preparations for resisting the enemy; to which end he had strengthened the city of Pisa, and other fortified towns of the republic, and had, particularly, provided for the defence of Florence. These preparations were not, however, effected without expense, and the levies imposed upon the citizens became an additional cause

(a) Guicciard. lib. i. *Mem. de Commynes*, lib. vii. chap. 7. v. i. p. 50, 51.

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A. XI. 19.

cause of dissatisfaction. He then endeavoured to avail himself of the voluntary contributions of the richer classes; but, instead of the necessary aid, he obtained only reproaches and threats. Alarmed and dispirited, he adopted the hasty resolution of repairing in person to the French camp, for the purpose of endeavouring to conciliate the favour of Charles, by such timely concessions as circumstances might require. He therefore privately quitted the city, and hastened to Empoli, a few miles distant from Florence; whence he addressed a letter to the magistrates, which is yet preserved, and which fully explains the motives of his conduct at this period, so critical to the fortunes of himself and his family.(a)

“ Magnificent and honoured Fathers,

“ I shall not attempt to apologize for my
 “ sudden departure, because I can scarcely
 “ think myself culpable for taking a measure
 “ which, according to my weak judgment,
 “ appears to be the best remedy for restoring
 “ the tranquillity of my country, and which,
 “ at the same time, is attended with less dan-
 “ ger

(a) The original is given in the Appendix, No. XXX.

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A. 21. 29.

ger and inconvenience than any other,
 both to the public and to individuals; ex-
 cepting only myself. I therefore intend to
 present myself in person, before his most
 christian majesty of France; as I may pro-
 bably thus be enabled to appease the re-
 sentment which he has conceived against
 this city, for the conduct which it has
 hitherto been obliged to adopt, in conse-
 quence of its engagements with other states;
 it appearing to be only his majesty's wish,
 that an alteration should take place in this
 respect. I, who have been blamed as the
 cause of this animosity, will, therefore,
 either exculpate myself to his majesty, or
 shall be ready to receive due punishment,
 rather in my own person, than in the body
 of the republic. Of this course of con-
 duct, particular instances have been given
 in my own family; but I consider myself
 as under much greater obligations to exert
 myself, than any of my predecessors have
 been; because I have been honoured much
 more beyond my merits than any of them;
 and the more unworthy I am of those ho-
 nours, the more I feel myself bound to
 engage in my present attempt, and not to
 shrink from labour, inconvenience, or ex-
 pense, or even the sacrifice of my life, which
 I would

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“ I would willingly resign, for each of you in
 “ particular, and much more for the whole
 “ republic. This I shall probably manifest
 “ on the present occasion, on which I shall
 “ either return to the satisfaction of your-
 “ selves and the city, or lose my life in the
 “ attempt. In the mean time, I entreat you,
 “ by the fidelity and affection which you
 “ owe to the ashes of your Lorenzo, my
 “ late father, and the kindness which you
 “ have shewn to me, who, in reverence and
 “ affection, am not less your son than his,
 “ that you will remember me in your prayers.
 “ I also have further to request, that you
 “ will accept my recommendation of my
 “ brothers and children, whom, if it should
 “ be the will of God that I should not re-
 “ turn, I bequeath wholly to your care. I
 “ shall begin my journey from this place to-
 “ morrow.

“ PIERO DE' MEDICI.”

In Empoli, 26 October, 1494.

From Empoli, Piero proceeded to Pisa,
 whence, on the following day, he addressed a
 letter to his private secretary, Pietro da Bib-
 biena, in which he directs him to assure the
 Neapolitan ambassadors at Florence, of his
 unalterable attachment to Alfonso and the
 house

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house of Aragon, from whom he entreats a favourable construction of the measures which he has unfortunately been compelled to adopt. If his letter to the magistrates contain, as might be expected, only the more plausible and popular motives of his conduct, in this private communication, he explicitly acknowledges, that he has been abandoned by all the citizens of Florence, as well his friends as his enemies; and that he has neither resources nor credit to support the war, in which he has involved himself and his country, by his adherence to his engagements with the royal house of Naples. (a)

Under these discouraging impressions, Piero de' Medici presented himself, with a few attendants, at the French camp before Sarzana. On his arrival, two of the confidential officers of Charles, Monsieur de Pyennes, his chamberlain, and the general Brissonet, were appointed to treat with him. Their first request was, that the fortress of Sarzana should be surrendered to the French arms, with which Piero instantly complied. They then insisted on Pisa, Leghorn, and Pietrasanta, being also delivered up to the king,

(a) For the letter to Bibbiena, v. *Appendix*, No. XXXI.

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king, on his promise to restore them, when they were no longer necessary to the success of his enterprize; and to this demand Piero also assented. The readiness with which he thus delivered up places of such strength and importance, astonished the French, who seemed to have despised his weakness and ridiculed his credulity.(a) As he held no ostensible rank, they gave him the title of *Il gran Lombardo*; it being in those times customary to designate all the Italians by the general name of Lombards.(b)

This unfortunate transaction, in which Piero de' Medici professedly imitated, but with mistaken application, the example of his father in his voyage to Naples, gave irremediable offence to the citizens of Florence; who, although they had refused to assist him in opposing the progress of the French,

The Florentines exasperated at the conduct of Piero de' Medici.

(a) "Ceux qui traictoient avec le dict Pierre, m'ont compté, et à plusieurs autres l'ont dit, en se raillant & moquant de lui, qu'ils étoient ebahis comme si tot accorda si grande chose, et à quoi ils ne s'attendoient pas." *Mem. de Comm. liv. vii. chap. vii. p. 198.* The circumstances of this interview are also related by André de la Vigne in his *Vergier d'Honneur*, with his usual insipidity.

(b) Nardi, *Hist. di Fiorenza. lib. i. p. 11.*

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French, conceived that he had made a wanton sacrifice of their interests. It may, however, well be doubted, whether this was so much the reason as the pretext for the resentment of the Florentines, many of whom had become impatient of the authority of the Medici, and, being prompted by the violent harangues of Savonarola, sought only for an opportunity of exciting the populace to second their views. A new deputation was nominated, consisting of five citizens, among whom was Savonarola, who were directed to proceed to Lucca, where the king had now arrived, and to entreat him to moderate the severity of the terms agreed on. Charles gave them an attentive audience; but neither the persuasions nor the threats of the priest, who represented himself as a messenger on the part of God, could induce the king to relax from his former stipulations.(a) This measure, was, however, a sufficient indication to Piero de' Medici, of the dissatisfaction which his conduct had occasioned, and of the necessity of securing himself against the effects of that animosity which would probably be excited against him. He therefore engaged his near relation, Paolo Orsini, who then commanded

(a) Nardi, *Hist. di Fiorenza*, lib. i. p. 11.

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manded a body of troops in the service of the republic, to accompany him towards the city, intending to suppress the outrages of the populace by force of arms, and, as his adversaries have conjectured, to take upon himself the uncontrolled dominion of the state; to which he is supposed to have been incited by his wife, Alfonsina, and her relations of the Orsini family.^(a) On his arrival, he proceeded with a few attendants to the palace of justice, apparently for the purpose of explaining to the citizens the reasons of his conduct; but Luca Corsini, Giacompo de' Nerli, and other magistrates, met him at the gates, and with many reproaches, opposed his admission. This circumstance occasioned a general clamour and commotion, in which the friends of the Medici, who attempted to suppress the tumult, were insulted and plundered; whilst Piero with difficulty escaped the resentment of the populace.

In the mean time, the cardinal, less obnoxious to the people than his brother, endeavoured to conciliate their favour by pacific remonstrances, and by the cry of *Palle, Palle*, in reference to the arms of his family.

(a) Nardi, *Hist. di Fiorenza*, lib. i. p. 12.

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A. Et. 19.

The cardinal de' Medici, with his brothers, Piero and Giuliano, expelled the city.

family. But the charm which had lasted so many years, was now broken; and these words, which had seldom been heard without producing a favourable effect, only served to excite additional indignation. The clamour and violence of the populace increased; the alarm-bell rang; the prisoners were set at liberty; the farther progress of the cardinal was prevented by impenetrable crowds, whilst Piero and his attendants were threatened with an attack of stones from the windows and roofs of the houses. The fate of the Medici hung on the decision of a moment; and Piero had to determine, whether he would try the event of arms in the bosom of his native place, or abandon the city, and seek a refuge in some other part of Italy. Of these expedients, he adopted the latter; but, by an unaccountable fatality, instead of resorting to the French camp, where he would probably have obtained the favour and protection of Charles, for having complied with whose requisitions he had been obliged to quit the city, he passed, with his brother Giuliano, through the gate of S. Gallo, and took the road to Bologna.^(a) The cardinal, either

(a) This event occurred on the ninth day of November, 1494. *Nardi, lib. i. p. 13.*

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either not equally alarmed at the danger, or more reluctant to quit his native place, was the last of the brothers who left the city. Finding, however, that the populace were proceeding to the utmost extreme of violence, he divested himself of the insignia of his rank, and, assuming the habit of a Franciscan, passed, without being recognized, through the midst of the exasperated multitude, to the convent of S. Marco, where he hoped to find a temporary shelter, in a building erected and endowed by his ancestors. In this, however, he was disappointed; the monks having, with singular ingratitude, refused to admit him within their gates. Repulsed from the only quarter on which he relied for protection, he immediately abandoned the city, and, hastening into the secret recesses of the Apennines, effected his retreat, and joined his brothers at Bologna.(a)

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No

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratti d' huomini di Casa Medici. Opusc. v. iii. p. 65.* To the short period which elapsed between the death of Lorenzo and the expulsion of his son Piero, we may refer the Latin poem of Lorenzo Vitelli, entitled *Arborea*; in which, under the allegory of a vigorous and fruitful tree, he describes the flourishing family of the Medici; not aware of the sudden blight which it was shortly to experience. *v. Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. xi. p. 386.*

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The Palace
of the Me-
dici plun-
dered.

No sooner had the Medici quitted the city, than the rage of the populace broke out in open acts of violence. The palace of the Medici, and the houses of several of the chief officers of the state, who were supposed to be favourable to their party, were attacked and plundered. The residence of the cardinal, in the district of S. Antonio, experienced a similar fate; but a circumstance which cannot fail to excite the regret of every friend of the arts, is the destruction of the garden of S. Marco, established by the liberality and personal attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent, as an academy for the promotion of sculpture; the repository of the finest remains of antiquity, and the school of Michael Angelo. We might have pardoned the expunging of the figures of the rebels, painted on the walls of the palace, in the year 1434, or the obliteration of the labours of Andrea del Castagno, commemorating the conspiracy of the Pazzi, in 1478; but the destruction of this collection was an irreparable misfortune to the progress of true taste, as yet in its earliest infancy; and was poorly compensated by the figure of Judith, executed by Donatello, at the request of the Florentines; and placed at the gate

gate of the palace, as an emblem of the destruction of a tyrant.(a)

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Pisa as-
serts its li-
berties.

On the same day that the brothers of the Medici were compelled to abandon their native place, an event occurred in the city of Pisa, which, although, in its origin, of small comparative importance, became in the event a fruitful source of contention and bloodshed; and served, when the terrors of a foreign enemy were removed, to disturb the repose and protract the calamities of Italy. Irreconcilably adverse to the Florentine government, the citizens of Pisa were, at all times, ready to avail themselves of any opportunity to assert their ancient liberties. This restless and unconquerable spirit afforded a reason, or a pretext, for additional cautions and severities on the part of the Florentines; which, with-

82

out

(a) *Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine. vol. iii. p. 223.*

The dispersion of the library of Politiano followed soon after the exile of the Medici. The learned admirers of this great man will, perhaps, be gratified with the inventory of the MSS. and other effects, found in his possession at the time of his death, taken by the celebrated and learned Greek, Joannes Lascar, and which has not before been printed. *v. Appendix, No. XXXII.*

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out subduing the courage, excited the resentment of the people. No sooner had Charles, after quitting Lucca, arrived at Pisa, than he was surrounded by a tumultuous assemblage of the inhabitants, who, with affecting lamentations, and grievous complaints against their oppressors, entreated the king to free them from their yoke.^(a) The earnest and repeated solicitations of the multitude made a powerful impression on some of the favourite attendants of the king, who observed to him, that the request of the citizens was just and reasonable; whereupon Charles, acting under the impulse of his immediate feelings, and forgetful or regardless of his solemn engagement to restore the city of Pisa to its former governors, signified his assent to their request. This hasty and inconsiderate assurance was received by the citizens of Pisa as a full emancipation from their servitude, and their exultation

-
- (a) " Par grans monceaux le commun populaire
 " Deça, dela, c'estoit voulu assire,
 " Pour hault crier en amour volontaire;
 " Voire si hault qu'ils ne pourvoyent taire,
 " *Libertate, Libertate*, chier sire;
 " Qui en François vault autant comme dire,
 " *Helas, sire, donnez nous liberté.*" &c.

And. de la Vigne, Vergier d'Honneur.

tation was displayed by the immediate demolition of the arms and insignia of the Florentines throughout the city. The Florentine commissioners were at the same time expelled from Pisa, not without great apprehensions of violence to their persons, which was prevented only by the authority of the king and his attendants.

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Whilst Charles was thus hastening, without interruption, towards the object of his destination, his general, D'Aubigny, had made a considerable progress in Romagna, where he had attacked and taken several fortresses, and had compelled Caterina Sforza, widow of Girolamo Riario, who then governed the states of Imola and Forli in the name of her infant son Ottaviano, to relinquish the alliance into which she had entered with the pope and the king of Naples. His approach towards Faenza, with the additional troops which had joined his standard, alarmed the duke of Calabria, who, quitting his entrenchments, proceeded with his army, by the most retired and difficult paths, to Cesena. He was there informed of the commotions which had arisen in Florence, and of the surrender of the chief fortresses of the Tuscan state to the French arms; in consequence of which, he

Retreat of
the duke of
Calabria
before the
arms of
D'Aubigny.

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he again broke up his camp, and hastily retreated towards Rome. By these pusillanimous measures, the power of the French, which, like a small stream, might have been successfully checked in its commencement, was suffered to proceed in an uninterrupted course, and, by a continual accession, to bear down all possibility of resistance.

Charles
VIII. enters the city of Florence.

On the eleventh day of November, Charles left Pisa, and proceeded to Empoli, intending to enter the city of Florence; but on his arrival at Signa, about six miles distant, he received information of the expulsion of the Medici, in consequence of the surrender of the fortified towns of the republic to his arms. Conceiving it, therefore, not improbable that he might meet with resistance, he ordered D'Aubigny, who was no longer opposed in Romagna, to join him with a part of the troops under his command. This measure greatly alarmed the inhabitants of Florence, who began to suspect that Charles intended to possess himself of the city by force.^(a) Nor were there wanting among his followers,

(a) The intention of the king to attack the city, is also thus adverted to by André de la Vigne:—

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followers, many who advised him to this measure, and who even endeavoured to prevail upon him to deliver it up to be plundered by the soldiery, on the pretence of its being the first place that had resisted his arms, and as an example to the rest of Italy. (a) The Florentines were, however, incessant in their embassies and representations to Charles; and perhaps the rich presents and delicate viands, with which they supplied his camp at Signa, might, in some degree, mitigate his resentment. Nor did they neglect the best precautions in their power to secure themselves against hostilities, in case the king should prove irreconcilable. Great numbers of armed men

" Au pont du Signe fut des jours cinq ou six ;
 " Car Florentins mutines et perdus
 " S'estoient contre Pierre de Medycys,
 " Qui leur's chateaulx avoit au roy rendus.
 " Dessus les champs mises ses guettes et gardes,
 " Et leur monstra de si bon remise,
 " Que tost apres vindrent les ambassades
 " De Florence, de Sene, et de Venite :
 " Fait assembler avoit ja tous ses gens,
 " Et amener toute l'artillerie,
 " Pour a Florence, sans etre negligens,
 " Y aller faire quelque grand dyablerie."

(a) Guicciardini, lib. i. v. i. p. 58.

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men from different parts of the Tuscan territory, entered the city under various pretexts, and were secretly lodged in the houses of the citizens. The *condottieri* in the service of the republic distributed their troops in the most convenient stations, and held themselves in readiness for action, on the tolling of the great bell of the palace of justice. These alarms, however, soon subsided, and on the seventeenth day of November,^(a) Charles made his peaceable and public entry into the city

(a) On the same day died at Florence, in the thirty-second year of his age, the accomplished Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula, and, if we may credit the report of Savonarola, had the good fortune to obtain a situation in purgatory. This intelligence the preacher thus announced to his audience at the conclusion of one of his sermons, a few days after the death of that eminent man. “Io vi voglio
 “rivelare un secreto, che insino a quì non ho voluto dirlo,
 “perchè non ho avuto tanta certezza come ho avuto da diece
 “hore in quì. Ciascuno di voi credo che cognoscesse il
 “conte Giovanni della Mirandola, che stava quì in Firenze,
 “ed è morto pochi giorni sono. Dicovi che l'anima sua,
 “per le orationi de' frati, ed anche per alcune sue buone
 “opere, che fece in questa vita, e per altre orationi, è nel
 “purgatorio—*orate pro eo*—lui fu tardo a non venire alla
 “religione in vita sua, come era spirato, e però è in pur-
 “gatorio.” The verses of Marullus, on the death of Pico, are more appropriate, although less known, than the ostentatious lines inscribed on his tomb in the church of S. Marco at Florence. *v. Op. Mar. 53.*

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city on horseback, under a rich canopy, supported by some of his younger nobles, and attended by his barons and men at arms. He was met on his approach, by the magistrates and principal inhabitants, who accompanied him to the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where he paid a visit to the great altar; after which he proceeded to the palace of the Medici, which was magnificently prepared for his reception.(a) His nobility and chief officers were lodged in the princely houses of the richer inhabitants; and the illumination of the city, which continued every night during the stay of the king, contributed no less to its peace and security, than to the honour of its royal guest. Conciliated by these attentions, Charles passed several days in partaking of the amusements prepared for him. Among these was the *Rappresentazione* of the Annunciation of the Virgin, which was exhibited, with great splendour and mechanical ingenuity, in the church of S. Felice, and with which the

(a) *Nardi, Hist. Fior.* i. p. 14. The entrance of the king into Florence is one of those topics on which his poetical annalist, De la Vigne, dwells with particular satisfaction. On this occasion he enumerates the whole array of the French army, and all the attendants of the king. *v. Appendix, No. XXXIII.*

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the king was so greatly delighted, that he requested to be gratified by a second exhibition. (a)

No sooner had the three brothers of the Medici quitted the city, than Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco, returned to Florence, and were restored to their possessions and their rights ;(b) but the name of

(a) Nardi, *Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 15.*

(b) Lorenzo, the son of Pier Francesco, appears to have emulated his relations of the elder branch of his family, in the love of literature and patronage of learned men, Politiano has addressed to him his *Sylva*, entitled *Manto*, in terms of great esteem :—" Ferreus sim," says he, " si tibi " quid denegem, tam nobili adolescenti, tam probo, tam " mei amanti, tanto denique eam rem studio efflagitanti." The beautiful introductory stanzas to this piece have been elegantly translated, by the Rev. Mr. Greswell, in his *Memoirs of Politiano*, &c. p. 92. Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco was also the great patron of the poet Marullus, who has inscribed to him, at different times, his four books of epigrams, several of which are devoted to his praise. In one of these he is thus addressed :—

" Felix ingenii, felix et gratiæ opumque,

" Laurus, et antiquis non leve nomen avis,

" Quærenti cuidam num plura his optet? ut, inquit,

" Et prodesse queam pluribus, et cupiam."

p. 42.

Marullus

of the Medici was now become odious, and with a despicable servility, which has been imitated in subsequent times, they relinquished their family appellation, and adopted that of *Popolani*; at the same time removing from their residence the insignia of their arms, and replacing them by those of the republic.

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In the mean time, Piero and his brothers, in their retreat to Bologna, had not experienced that friendly reception which they had reason to expect from Giovanni Bentivoglio, who then held the chief authority in that place, and whose obligations to their father were supposed to be a sufficient pledge for his favour. Expecting from others that fortitude which, in the moment of adversity, he did not exhibit himself, Bentivoglio, instead of consoling them in their misfortunes, or encouraging their hopes, reproached them for having pusillanimously quitted a place, where they

Piero de' Medici retires to Venice, and the cardinal to Castello.

Marullus also addressed to Giovanni, the other son of Pier-Francesco, a copy of Latin verses, in praise of Caterina Sforza, the widow of Girolamo Riario, whom Giovanni afterwards married, and by whom he had Giovanni de' Medici, captain of the *bande nere*, and usually called *Il gran diavolo*, father of Cosmo I. grand-duke of Tuscany.

τ. *Epigr. lib. iv. p. 54.*

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they had such influence and resources, not only without the death of a single adherent, but without even the unsheathing of a sword, or the slightest effort in their own defence. As this remonstrance could now be of no avail, the brothers considered it as a sufficient indication, that Bologna would not long be a place of safety. Piero, disguised in the habit of a valet, hastened to Venice, where he met with an honourable reception from the senate, who permitted him to wear his arms in the city, and to be attended by fifteen or twenty of his adherents. The cardinal, shortly afterwards, retreated to Pitigliano, and from thence to Castello, where he found an hospitable shelter with the Vitelli, then the lords of that place, and the ancient friends of his family.(a)

Among the nobility who attended the French king on his expedition, there was no one

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratti d'uomini illustri di Casa Medici.* 52, 65. Philip de Commines was at Venice when Piero de' Medici arrived, and seems to have taken an interest in his misfortunes; for, says he, "j'avois aimé le pere." Piero, in recounting his disasters, particularly dwelt on the unkindness of one of his factors, who refused to furnish him with apparel, to the amount of one hundred ducats, for the use of himself and his brother. So true is it, that ingratitude is the sting of misfortune.

one who enjoyed a greater share of his confidence, than Philip de Bresse, uncle to the young duke of Savoy, and who succeeded at no distant period to the sovereignty of that state. On the arrival of the army at Florence, this nobleman had taken up his residence at the house of Lorenzo Tornabuoni, a near relation of Piero de' Medici, who found the means of influencing him in favour of the exiled family; insomuch that De Bresse did not hesitate strenuously to advise the king to recal Piero, and restore him to his former authority in Florence. Nor was Charles averse to a measure, which was recommended to him no less by the recent compliance of Piero with his request, at so critical a juncture, than by the remembrance of the connexion which had so long subsisted between their families, and the many services rendered by the Medici to himself and his ancestors. Dispatches were accordingly sent to Bologna, requesting Piero to return into the vicinity of Florence, and assuring him of the speedy restoration of his former authority; but these letters did not arrive till he had already taken his departure for Venice, to which place they were forwarded by the cardinal. Instead, however, of complying with the requisition of the king, Piero imprudently laid this communication before

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Charles intends to re-instate Piero de' Medici.

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before the members of the senate, desiring their opinion on the measures which he ought to pursue. The advice which they gave was such as suited their own interest, rather than the circumstances of their guest. Neither the promotion of the views of the French, nor the tranquillity of the state of Florence, were desirable objects to the Venetians. They therefore represented to Piero the hazards which he would incur by his implicit confidence in the assurances of the king, and flattered him with promises that, when occasion offered, they would themselves assist in effecting his restoration.*(a)* Influenced by these representations, Piero lost the only opportunity which ever occurred, of being restored to his native place; whilst the State-Inquisitors of Venice directed that he should be narrowly watched, so that he might not quit the city without their consent.*(b)*

Commo-
tions in Flo-
rence, and
treaty with
Charles
VIII.

But although the favourable intentions of the king towards Piero de' Medici were thus rendered ineffectual, the rumour of such a design excited a violent alarm in the city, which

(a) Guicciardini, lib. i. v. i. p. 59.

(b) Guicciardini, lib. i. v. i. p. 57. 59. Nardi, *Hist. di Fior.* p. 15.

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A. 22. 13.

which was increased by the king's avowing his determination to establish a civil authority, and to exercise, by his own magistrates, a paramount jurisdiction. On this occasion, the citizens of Florence gave a decisive proof, that they were no less resolute in defending their liberties, than they were solicitous, by every reasonable concession, to conciliate the good will of the king. The magistrates expressed their determination to resist, to the utmost extremity, rather than submit to conditions which, they conceived, would for ever deprive them of their rights, and afford a pretext for the monarchs of France to consider them as their vassals. The populace, animated with the same spirit, thronged to the palace; the French soldiers were under arms; the Swiss guards had already attacked the *Borgo d'ogni Santi*, on pretence that the king was in danger, but had been repulsed by the populace, and discomfited by showers of stones thrown from the roofs and windows.(a) The tumult had continued

(a) Guicciardini, whilst he admits that the citizens and the French soldiery lived in mutual apprehension and distrust of each other, asserts, that they did not proceed to acts of violence.—“Niuno assaltava l'altro o provocava;” but Nardi, who was also a Florentine and a contemporary, and whose History is chiefly confined to the internal transactions of the city, informs us, that this affray lasted more than an hour. *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. i. 15.*

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continued for an hour, and the whole city was on the point of becoming a dreadful scene of massacre and bloodshed; when some of the French chiefs, and a deputation from the magistrates, made their appearance, and, by their united efforts and conciliating assurances, succeeded in restoring the public tranquillity. This vigorous opposition induced the king to relax in his pretensions; but whilst he consented to relinquish all interference in the municipal concerns of the Florentines, he insisted on the payment of a large sum of money, as the price of their exemption. On this occasion, the courage of an individual completed what the spirit of the people had begun. The conditions proposed by the king, had been read by his secretary, who declared, that they were the ultimate and only terms to which he would accede; when Piero Capponi, one of the four deputies who had been authorized to negotiate the treaty, stepped forwards, and, seizing the paper from the hands of the secretary, tore it in the presence of the king; at the same time exclaiming—"If these be your terms, you may sound your trumpets, and we shall ring our bells."(a) This act of open

(a) Machiavelli has recorded this event in his first Decennale:—

open defiance, from a citizen of acknowledged ability and integrity, and who was well known to Charles, having resided as an ambassador in his court, had an immediate effect on the king; who probably considered, that, although he might succeed in subduing the inhabitants and destroying the city, the consequences of such a measure would be the ruin of his expedition. Affecting, therefore, to receive in good part this daring remonstrance, he directed that Capponi, who had quitted the room in apparent anger, should be recalled; and the treaty was concluded without further difficulty.^(a) The principal heads of the convention were a participation of mutual privileges between the two countries; that to his title of king of France, Charles should add that of

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T

Restorer

“ Lo strepito dell’arme e de’ cavalli,
 “ Non pote far che non fosse sentita
 “ La voce d’un Cappon fra cento Galli.
 “ Tanto che’l re superbo se partita,
 “ Poscia che la cittate essere intese;
 “ Per mantener sua libertate unita.”

(a) Il re fattolo richiamare indietro, perche era suo familiare, essendo stato oratore in Francia appresso di sua maestà, sorridendo disse. *Ah Ciappon, Ciappon, voi siete un mal Ciappon.* Nardi, *Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 15.* This royal equivoque is not worth a translation.

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Restorer and Protector of the Liberties of Florence; that as a mark of gratitude, the republic should present the king with a free-gift of one hundred and twenty thousand florins; that the fortresses and places surrendered to the French, should be restored, on certain specified conditions; that the citizens of Pisa, on receiving their pardon, should return to their former obedience; that the sequestration of the effects of the cardinal de' Medici, and his brothers Piero and Giuliano, should be annulled, excepting that the hereditary property of the two younger brothers should remain liable to the debts of the elder. That none of the brothers should approach within a certain distance of the city, which, with regard to Piero, was limited to two hundred miles, and with respect to the cardinal and Giuliano, to one hundred; and, lastly, that Alfonsina Orsini, the wife of Piero, should be allowed to enjoy her dowry, for her separate support. The treaty thus agreed on, was ratified on the following day, being the twenty-sixth of November, in the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where a solemn mass was celebrated, and Charles swore *on the word of a king*, faithfully to observe the conditions of the contract. (a)

The

(a) "Sub verbo regis."—*Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 16.*

The

The stipulations between Charles and the Florentines being concluded, the citizens expected his immediate departure from Florence; where the conduct of himself and his followers continued to excite great apprehensions. He did not, however, appear to be in haste to prosecute his expedition; and Savonarola was again deputed to request an interview with him, and endeavour to prevail upon him to quit the city. The arguments of Savonarola on this occasion, were of a very peculiar kind. He reminded the king, that, during the four preceding years, he had himself predicted his arrival in Italy; that God had called him to this undertaking, for the reformation of the church; but that unless he manifested greater zeal and activity in the accomplishment of his labours, he would not be found worthy of carrying them into effect, and God would provide other instrumenes for that purpose.(a)

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The

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A. St. 19.Charles
VIII. con-
tains the ter-
ritories of
the Church.

The original treaty yet subsists in the *Bibliotheca Naniana*, at Venice, under the title of, *Capitula et conventiones inter Carolum VIII. regem Francorum et populum Florentinum. Florentiæ, die XXVI. Novembris MCCCCXCIV. jurata in Ecclesia cathedrali, per ipsum regem, et priores dictæ civitatis, apud altare majus, post missæ celebrationem. V. Morellii, MSS. Lat. Bib. Naniana. p. 125. Ven. 1776.*

(a) Nardi, *Histor. Fior. lib. i. p. 17.*

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These remonstrances might, perhaps, have lost their effect, had they not been seconded by the earnest solicitations of the vigilant and faithful D'Aubigny, who complained to the king of his imprudence, in neglecting to avail himself of the advantages afforded him, and in allowing his adversaries so fair an opportunity of preparing for their defence. Convinced of the expediency of the measure, Charles immediately prepared for his departure, and on the twenty-eighth day of November quitted the city, to the great joy of the inhabitants, having a few days before issued a manifesto, in which he not only asserted his rights to the kingdom of Naples, but avowed his intentions, after the acquisition of that kingdom, of avenging the injuries which the christian world had sustained from the depredations and cruelties of the Turks.(a) From Florence the king proceeded to Baroncegli; and afterwards, passing through Certosa and Poggibonzi, arrived at Siena, where he spent several days, indulging himself in splendid banquets and licentious amours.(b) On quitting the Florentine territories, the French army had defiled

(a) Lünig, *Codex diplomat. Ital.* 2. 1302.

(b) Nardi, *lib. i. p.* 17.

defiled through the pass of Valdarno, where it became practicable to estimate its numbers with tolerable accuracy; and it was the common opinion that, including cavalry, infantry, and followers of every description, it amounted to sixty thousand persons.^(a) From the Tuscan state, the king advanced without opposition, into the territories of the church; and possessing himself of Aquapendente, Viterbo, and other places, despoiled and plundered the inhabitants. At this juncture, Piero de' Medici, having eluded the vigilance of his Venetian guards, hastened through Ancona and Romagna, and made his appearance in the French camp, where he was received with kindness by the king, among whose courtiers, he had obtained no inconsiderable share of favour and interest.^(b)

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The facility with which Charles was thus permitted to proceed through the centre of Italy, on an expedition so hostile and dangerous

The states of Italy are exhorted to oppose the progress of the French.

(a) Alessandro Benedetti, in his *Fatto d'arme del Tarro*, p. 6, states the French army at only twenty-five thousand, viz. Horse, five thousand, Flemish and Swiss, fifteen thousand, and the remainder, infantry of various nations; but besides these, he admits, that there was a considerable number of Italian auxiliaries.

(a) Nardi, lib. i. p. 17.

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A. Æt. 18.

rous to its repose, was not unobserved by many of those eminent literary characters with which it abounded. In particular, the inactivity of the state of Venice, which was then at its highest pitch of power and splendour, excited the surprize of all the true friends to the ancient independence of their country. Nor were these sentiments wholly confined to silent lamentation and unavailing regret. About the time that Charles quitted the territory of Florence, an attempt was made by an anonymous individual, to rouse the Italian states to a proper sense of their own dignity, and the dangers of their situation. But his efforts, at this juncture, were necessarily confined only to remonstrance and exhortation, and these he chose to express in the animated language of poetry. His production yet remains, and throws considerable light on the circumstances of the times.(a) Although the name of

(a) It is written in *terza rima*, and is addressed to the Doge of Venice, Agostino Barbadico. The Italian governments are distinguished by the devices of their arms. "The serpent of the house of Sforza has changed the current of the Tesino, and mingled it with that of the Reno. The Florentine lion, like a dog that has undergone correction,

of the author be lost, it sufficiently appears, from several passages, that he was one of the Italian *condottieri*, who had been engaged in the service of the state of Venice; and that he

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“ rection, declines his head; and the wolf of Siena has “ wandered from her usual path.” He then calls on the Venetian state to assist the common cause.

Italia, once the praise of every tongue,
Now scarcely drags her languid steps along;
But let thy glorious standard wide unfurl'd,
Tremendous wave before the shrinking world;
And bid thy winged lion, at whose sight
The forest tenants seek the shades of night,
Spread his broad vans, distend his serried jaws,
Shake his strong mane, and ope his sheathed claws;
Ferrara's Hercules shall strive in vain,
Nemean like, to stretch him on the plain;
Though to thy matchless glory adverse still,
His power is only wanting to his will.

The lamentations of the different cities of Italy, are followed by a spirited exhortation to a vigorous and united defence, and the alliance and protection of Alfonso are particularly recommended to the chief of the Venetian republic.

Asserter of Italia's rights and laws,
Do thou defend *Alfonso's* sacred cause,
Nor trust barbarian hordes, whose hearts of steel
Relenting pity never taught to feel;

From

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he had been, on some occasion, for a long time prisoner at Milan. That this composition

From foes like these, intent on spoil and strife,
Defend thy country's freedom with thy life;
Nor let the serpent with his scaly train,
Nor Gallic cock, thy native seats profane.

This poem remained in manuscript until the year 1738, when it was given to the public, by the learned Giovambattista Parisotto, in the *Opuscoli* of Calogera, *tom.* xviii. accompanied with an introductory letter and notes by the editor. He is, however, mistaken, in supposing, that the poem was written *after* Charles VIII. had possessed himself of the kingdom of Naples; it appearing, from several passages, to have been written whilst Charles was on his way through Italy. I. The author mentions Alfonso as king of Naples; but he had abdicated the crown before the arrival of Charles. II. He expressly says, that the French are yet in Tuscany and proceeding towards Rome:

“ ————— e già son sopra l'Arno,

“ E van per ruinar il Coloseo.”

And again,

“ ————— fulminando va con gran tempesta,

“ Verso l'antico suo seggio Romano.”

When the author laments the condition of Romagna—

“ Lacerata dal vulgo aspro e feroce.”—

He seems to advert to the progress of the French arms in Romagna, under D'Aubigny, and not to the tumults of the people, or the tyranny of the rulers, as supposed by the editor. With these observations, I shall submit the poem and notes to the reader. *v. Appendix, No. XXXIV.*

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tion should, of itself, produce any effect on the conduct of the Italian governments, is not to be supposed; but the opinions of an individual, on great public occasions, are seldom peculiar to himself; that which is expressed by one, is frequently thought by thousands; and at such times, the publication of a single person is the manifestation of a general sentiment, and often leads to important consequences. It is certain, that from this time the Italian states began to consider with more attention, the consequences of this expedition, and to adopt precautions for securing themselves against its effects. And although the king still continued his progress without interruption, yet a combination was speedily formed for intercepting him on his return to France, which, had it been properly conducted, might have caused him to expiate his temerity with the loss, not only of his reputation, but of his life.



CHAP. IV.

1494—1495.

*ENTRY of Charles VIII. into Rome—Treaty between Charles and the pope—Alfonso II. abdicates the crown of Naples—Indignation of his subjects—Accession of Ferdinand II.—Charles enters the territories of Naples—Ferdinand is betrayed by Trivulzio—Charles VIII. enters the city of Naples, and assumes the government—Contemporary opinions on that event—Charles reduces the fortresses of Naples—Endeavours to obtain from Ferdinand a surrender of his rights—Conduct of Charles at Naples—The exiled family resort to the aid of Ferdinand of Spain—League between the Italian States and the Spaniards—Dissatisfaction of the Neapolitans with Charles VIII.—Coronation of Charles VIII. at Naples—Charles resolves to return to France—Arrives at Viterbo—Siena—Interview with Savonarola at Pisa—Eager entreaties of the inhabitants to obtain their liberties—Louis Duke of Orleans claims the duchy of Milan—Massacre of the inhabitants at Pontremoli—Charles passes the Appenines—Is opposed by the allied army under the marquis of Mantua—Prepares for an engagement—Battle of the Taro—
Ferdinand*

Ferdinand II. returns to Naples—Contests between the French and Neapolitans—Expulsion of the French from the kingdom of Naples—Charles VIII. forms a new alliance with Lodovico Sforza, and returns to France—Consequences of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy.

CHAP. IV.

As Charles advanced towards Rome, he found that the terror of his arms had every where preceded his approach, and that he had little to dread, either from the force of the allies, or the opposition of the inhabitants. The unexampled serenity of the season, seemed also to concur in favouring his views, whilst the dissensions between the pope and the powerful barons of the Roman state had induced the latter openly to espouse his cause. Inferior in number, and dispirited by their retreat, the Neapolitan troops had intrenched themselves under the walls of Rome, when Alexander VI. alarmed at the approach of the

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IV.

A. D. 1494.
A. Et. 19.

Entry of
Charles
VIII. into
Rome.

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A. Et. 19.

king, and unwilling to risque his safety on the event of an attack, dispatched the bishops of Concordia and Terni, and his confessor Gratiano, with proposals to treat, on the part of Alfonso and himself, for a cessation of hostilities. These overtures, as far as regarded the king of Naples, were instantly rejected by Charles, who now saw no difficulty in the accomplishment of his primary object, the expulsion of the family of Aragon; but the favour of the pope was of no small importance, and he therefore sent the duke De la Tremouille, and the president Guenay, to treat with him, as to his own separate interests. The French deputies were accompanied by the cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and Prospero Colonna. The rejection of his first propositions had however induced Alexander to take measures for the defence of the city, and, before their arrival, he had admitted the duke of Calabria, with the Neapolitan troops, within the walls. The cardinal and Colonna were committed to prison; and in the commotions to which these measures gave rise, the French deputies were also seized upon, but were speedily liberated by the orders of the pope. The efforts of Alexander, for the defence of the city, were, however, fruitless.

Already

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A. E. 19.

Already the chief nobility had joined the standard of the French monarch. Even Virginio Orsino, grand constable of Naples, whilst he continued in the service of the Aragonese, allowed his son to negotiate with Charles, for the reception of the French into the territories of his family, and for providing them with the necessary supplies. Influenced by the united apprehensions of external force and internal faction, Alexander renewed his treaty with the king, for admitting him with his troops into Rome. The deliberation was short; and the terms being concluded, Charles entered the city on horseback, at the head of his army, on the last day of December, 1494. Alexander had offered to obtain from Charles a safe conduct for the duke of Calabria, through the ecclesiastical state; but Ferdinand rejected the proposal as an indignity, and at the very hour that the king entered the city by the gate of S. Maria del Popolo, the duke evacuated it with his troops, by that of S. Sebastiano.(a)

Notwithstanding the assurances of Charles, that he would treat the pontiff with all the reverence

(a) Guicciard. lib. i. v. l. p. 61. & seq.

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IV.

A. D. 1498.

A. Et. 50.

Treaty be-
tween

Charles and
the pope.

verence which his ancestors had been accustomed to pay to the holy see, Alexander could not, on this occasion, divest himself of his fears; but flying to the castle of S. Angelo, accompanied by the cardinals Orsino and Carraffa, sought to secure his personal safety.

This imprudent timidity had nearly cost him his tiara; as it afforded an opportunity to his adversaries, and particularly to the cardinals della Rovere and Sforza, of influencing the mind of the king, by representing to him the shameful traffic by which the pope had obtained his high dignity, the scandalous enormities of his private life, and his treachery in refusing to surrender the castle of S. Angelo; for which and similar reasons, they contended, that to depose him would not only be an excusable, but a commendable act, and would entitle the king to the gratitude of the christian world. Twice was the artillery of the French brought out to attack the castle; but the crafty pontiff at length found means to pacify the resentment of the monarch; and after long deliberation, a treaty was concluded, which was to be the basis of future union and mutual defence. By this treaty, the pope consented, that Charles should retain possession of Civita Vecchia, and other fortresses in the Roman state, until he had accomplished the conquest
of

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Et. 50.

of Naples; and promised to dismiss all resentment against the Roman barons who had espoused the cause of the French. In return, the king engaged to restore the pope to his authority in Rome, to perform personal obedience to him, and not to require from him the possession of the castle of S. Angelo. As a pledge for the performance of this treaty, it was further agreed, that Cæsar Borgia, cardinal of Valenza, should accompany the king on his expedition; and that Zizim, the brother of the sultan Bajazet, should be consigned to the care of Charles, who should place him in safe custody at Terracina; but the annual payment of forty thousand ducats, transmitted to the pope by the sultan, as a compensation for keeping his brother at Rome, was expressly reserved to the pontiff.^(a) Alexander now ventured to quit his place of refuge, and an interview took place between him and the king, in the gardens of the pontifical palace. On the approach of the pontiff, with

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his

(a) The minutes or heads of this treaty are given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom.* ii. 795. Du Mont, *Corps diplomat.* tom. iii. par. ii. p. 318. A copy is also preserved at Venice, which appears to be different from that which has been published. *v. Morellii, Cod. MS. Bib. Naniana.* p. 126.

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Et. 20.

his cardinals, Charles twice bent his knees, but the pope pretended not to see him; when, however, he was about to repeat once more this act of submission, the pope, taking off his cap, hastened and prevented him, at the same time saluting him with a kiss. The king then being uncovered, the pope would not replace his cap, until the king had restored his hat to its station, for which purpose the pope, with great civility, applied his hand to it, and they both covered themselves at the same moment. At this meeting it was observable that Charles did not kiss either the feet, or the hand of the pontiff; and there can be no doubt, that Alexander had so contrived it, that he might not be under the necessity of demanding from the king a species of homage, which, in the relative situation of their affairs, it was probable that he might not be inclined to pay. A subsequent interview was, however, appointed for the public reception of the king, at which Charles performed, with due humiliation, the usual ceremonies, and professed, as a dutiful son of the church, his submission and obedience to the holy see.(a)

During

(a) These, and many other particulars respecting the conduct of the king and the pontiff, are related by Burchard in his Diary, an extract from which is given in the Appendix, No. XXXV.

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IV.A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 90:

During the negotiations between the two sovereigns, Charles had endeavoured to prevail upon the pope to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; but, although Alexander had, under the first impressions of terror, incautiously assented to this request; yet he afterwards excused himself from complying with it, alledging that it affected the rights of others; and only promised that he would consult the college of cardinals, and do all in his power for the satisfaction of the king. (a)

U 2

During

(a) These circumstances also explicitly appear from the Diary of Burchard above cited, and may serve to correct an error of Guicciardini, who asserts, that the pope consented to invest Charles with the sovereignty of Naples, “*investisse il pontefice del Regno di Napoli.*” *lib. i. c. i. p. 64.* The long negotiations which afterwards took place on this subject, and which Guicciardini himself relates, and the silence of the treaty on this head, are a full confirmation, if any were yet wanting, of the veracity of Burchard. Respecting the investiture of the French king, it may be proper further to observe, that in the dissertation of M. de Foncemagne, on the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539,* that writer has endeavoured to shew, that at the time the pope delivered up the Turkish fugitive, he also invested the French king with the title of *Emperor of Constantinople.* In confirmation of this circumstance, not adverted to by any

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A. E. 20.

During the time that Charles remained at Rome, which was about the space of a month, he appears to have considered himself as complete master of the city, and to have punished offenders and executed criminals by his own authority. (a) Brissonet, one of his chief favourites

any contemporary historian, he has produced and published a document, which purports to be the act of a notary public, transferring the empire of the East, from Andrea Paleologus, to Charles; said to have been first discovered by the duke De St. Aignan, the French ambassador at Rome, and presented by the pope to Louis XIV. M. de Foncemagne considers it as a French lawyer would a contract for the sale of a house; and, not being able to discover, *that the king appeared before the notary to affirm the contract*, is inclined to doubt its validity. These doubts are increased by the discovery, that, six years afterwards, Paleologus made his will, and bequeathed his empire to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, which *he could not have done*, had the previous disposition been effectual. I shall only remark on one suspicious circumstance respecting this investiture, viz: that it purports to bear date, on the eighth day of September, 1494, nearly four months before the arrival of Charles at Rome, and whilst the pope was avowedly hostile to his views. In the present day, when kingdoms are transferred without sufficient ceremony, it may, however, be of use to the gentlemen of the long robe, to have a *precedent* for conveying an empire, by the act of a notary public! This document will be found in the Appendix, No. XXXVI.

(a) Soon after his arrival, some of his suite were insulted by the Jews; in consequence of which he ordered the Mareschal

favourites, and bishop of St. Maloes, was, at this time, honoured with the hat of a cardinal; and we may readily credit Commynes, when he informs us, that the residence of the king at the palace at S. Marco was the constant resort of all the dignified ecclesiastics and most eminent officers of the city.(a)

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Et. 60.

It might have been presumed, that the long and frequent delays of the king, in the progress of his expedition, would have been injurious to the success of his cause; but his negligence seems to have been no less favourable to him than his exertions; and whilst he was enjoying his honours and his pleasures in Rome, the inhabitants of many of the districts of Naples, and particularly those of Aquila and Abruzzo, had erected his standard, and only waited his approach to join his arms. At the same time, Fabrizio Colonna, one of his Italian stipendiaries, had occupied, in

Alfonso II.
abdicates
the crown
of Naples.

chal de Gies to inquire into the subject, and six of them were hanged in the Campo di Flora. He also erected gallows in different parts of the city, and executed several malefactors:

“ Par quoi l'on peut noter

“ Que sa puissance etoit bien singulier.”

Vergier d'Honneur.

(a) *Mem. de Commynes, lib. vi. chap. x. xii,*

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Et. 50.

in his name, the territories of Albi and Tagliacozza. But an event yet more important occurred at Naples; where Alfonso, being informed of the approach of the French, and the retreat of the Neapolitan army from Rome, and alarmed at the universal symptoms of disaffection amongst his subjects, resolved to relinquish his crown to his son Ferdinand, and to seek his own safety by flight. He accordingly dictated to Pontano, in the presence of his brother Federigo, and some of the chief barons of the state, the instrument of his renunciation; (a) after which, he secretly withdrew himself from the city; and accompanied only by a few confidential attendants, repaired, under the most evident symptoms of terror, to the harbour, where four galleys were provided for his reception, in which he had privately embarked his most valuable effects. With these he proceeded to the island of Sicily, and arrived at Mazara, a villa which had been given by Ferdinand of Spain to his sister, the queen dowager of Naples, and mother-in-law of Alfonso; where, in the consciousness of being secure from the pursuit of his enemies, he consoled himself

(a) *Giannone, Storia di Napoli. lib. xxix. v. iii. 385.*

himself for the loss of his reputation, his country, and his crown.

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1494.
A. Et. 90.

Indigna-
tion of his
subjects.

As Alfonzo had, on many occasions, given undoubted proofs of his courage, his sudden flight astonished all Italy. By some it was conjectured, that he intended to proceed to Constantinople, to solicit the aid of the sultan Bajazet, who, as well as himself, was the avowed object of the resentment of the French monarch. With greater probability, others imagined, that he had been induced to this measure, by the consciousness of his own misconduct and cruelty, and the hope that his son Ferdinand, who had not yet attained the twenty-fourth year of his age, and had given no such causes of offence, would be enabled to conciliate the affections of the people; but the opinion of Commines was, that he relinquished his crown through mere pusillanimity, for which he assigns, as a reason, that—"no cruel man was ever courageous;" (a) and in this opinion, he was probably followed by a great majority of those who reasoned on the subject.

(a) "Mon avis," says honest Commines, "fut tous jours, que ce fut par vraye lâcheté; car jamais homme cruel ne fut hardi." lib. vii. chap. 2. p. 205.

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 90.

ject.(a) No sooner, indeed, was the place of his retreat discovered, than the indignation of the Neapolitans was excited to the highest degree; and in particular those distinguished scholars, who had celebrated his triumphs, and immortalized his name in their works, endeavoured to expiate their error, and prove their abhorrence of his misconduct, by the severest

(a) It was a common opinion (if, says Guicciardini, we may be allowed not altogether to despise such reports) that the ghost of Ferdinand, the late king, had appeared thrice to the chief surgeon of the court, and on his first visit had mildly requested, but afterwards commanded him with threats, to announce to his son Alfonso, that all attempts to resist the French arms were hopeless: and that it was destined, that, after various misfortunes and the loss of their kingdom, their family should become extinct. The ghost, it seems, explained also the reason of this calamity, which was intended as a just retribution for the enormities committed by the Aragonese against their subjects; and particularly for the cruelty of Ferdinand, in having, at the instigation of Alfonso, put to death, in the church of S. Leonardo, at Chiaia, near Naples, many of his barons, whom he had long detained in prison. There was, however, no need of a ghost, to excite in the mind of Alfonso those terrors, which were the consequences of his guilt, and which, as Guicciardini informs us, with more probability, tormented his dreams with the images of those whom he had slaughtered, and with the ideas of an enraged populace dragging him to punishment. *Guicc. lib. i. v. i. p. 65, 66.*

severest reprehensions. (a) Whilst some were expressing their resentment against the fugitive

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. E. L. 20.

(a) The following production of Sanazzaro, although not expressly applied to this event, in any edition of his works, sufficiently marks the subject on which it was written.

SONNET.

O thou, so long the Muse's favourite theme,
Expected tenant of the realms of light;
Now sunk for ever in eternal night,
Or recollected only to thy shame!
From my polluted page thy hated name
I blot; already on my loathing sight
Too long obtruded; and to purer white
Convert the destin'd record of thy fame.
On thy triumphant deeds far other strains
I hop'd to raise; but thou defraud'st the song;
Ill-omen'd bird, that shun'st the day's broad eye.
Go then, and whilst the Muse thy praise disdains,
Oblivion's flood shall sweep thy name along,
And spotless and unstain'd the paper lie.

The original, with another sonnet, apparently on the same occasion, are given in the Appendix, No. XXXVII.

Antonio Tebaldeo has also adverted to this event in one of his sonnets, more remarkable for good sense than poetry: "If," says he, "a kingdom could have been defended by
"immense treasures, strong walls, powerful armies, or a
"commander of acknowledged talents, Alfonso might yet
"have maintained his sovereignty; but he who would
"reign

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

tive monarch, others were equally earnest in soliciting Charles to hasten his approach. In the Latin verses of Marullus, Italy is represented as mourning his long delay; and Greece, languishing under the scourge of barbarians, expecting with impatience her promised deliverer.(a)

Accession of
Ferdinand
II. who
prepares
for his de-
fence.

Ferdinand II. began his reign in a manner the best calculated to secure himself from the dangers with which he was threatened. He set at liberty such of the nobles as his predecessor had imprisoned; he restored to every person the domains of which he had been arbitrarily deprived, and granted new and extensive privileges to the citizens of Naples. But, what-
ever

“ reign in safety, ought to know, that it must be by the love
“ of his subjects, and not by their dread of him; and who-
“ ever adopts a different maxim, will, in the end, discover his
“ error.” Then, rising to a higher strain, he exclaims—
“ Eternal disgrace to Italy! shall it then be read, that
“ so powerful a kingdom could not resist the French arms
“ for a single month! When Saguntum was attacked by
“ Hannibal, she defended herself to the last extremity;
“ for death itself is sweet on behalf of a good prince.”
v. Appendix, No. XXXVIII.

(a) For the poem of Marullus, addressed to Charles VIII. on this occasion, *v. Appendix, No. XXXIX.*

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 20.

ever might have been the effect of these conciliatory measures, if sooner adopted, they were now too late. The partisans of the French, among whom were most of the chief officers of the government, had pledged themselves too far to retreat; and the hourly expectation of the approach of the enemy had a more powerful effect on the public mind, than either the liberality or the remonstrances of the new sovereign. Ferdinand, however, collected together a body of about six thousand infantry, and fifty troops of cavalry, the principal command of which he intrusted to Giovanni Giacompo Trivulzio, an Italian *condottiero* of great eminence, and Nicolo Orsino, count of Pitigliano. With these, he proceeded to S. Germano, which, from its situation, between steep mountains on the one side, and impassable marshes on the other, with the river Garigliano in front, was esteemed one of the keys of the kingdom. At the same time, he also occupied, by a detachment, the pass of Cancella, and gave every indication of his resolution to make a vigorous defence.^(a) Nor is it improbable, that if the shameless cowardice, or yet more shameless perfidy,

(a) Guicciard. lib. i. c. i. p. 67.

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

perfidy, of some of his principal officers had not frustrated his efforts, he might have made an honourable, if not an effectual resistance. (a)
In

(a) At this juncture, Crinitus wrote a Latin ode, in which he deplores the want of unanimity among the states and people of Italy, and anticipates the approaching calamities of Naples.

Ah why the hated theme recal,
Or bid me sing th' imperious Gaul?
Already tears enough are shed;
Of slaughter'd friends, enough have bled;
Yet, most disgraceful of our woes,
We too confed'rate with our foes;
Our wealth, our strength, to them resign;
And with their hostile standards join.

As thus extends the direful pest,
We perish by ourselves oppress;
And victims of a mutual hate,
Each from the other meet our fate.
Meanwhile, his bands the conqu'ror calls,
And points to Rome's defenceless walls;
And menaces the sacred band,
That round her holy altars stand;
Whilst the fierce soldier, stain'd with blood,
Hurfs his proud spear in Tyber's flood.

Oh ancient worth, for ever fled!
O manes of th' illustrious dead!
Thro' your pale bands what horror moves,
Whilst Jove the adverse cause approves!

Hence

In the mean time, Charles had quitted Rome, and proceeded on his route towards Naples, having received information of the abdication of Alfonso, at the moment when he took his departure from the city. A short time afterwards, his captive, Zizim, terminated his unfortunate life, in consequence, as some have conjectured, of poison, administered to him by the orders of Alexander VI. before he was delivered up to the king; whilst others have asserted, that his death was occasioned by the inattention of Charles to his personal accommodation.^(a) On the arrival

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

Charles enters the territories of Naples.

Hence what streams of blood shall flow,
What ills shall rise, what fires shall glow;
Whilst Naples mourns to future times,
The victim of another's crimes!
And sinks the Aragonian star,
Before the blazing god of war!
'Tis he directs th' o'erwhelming flood,
And scorns Italia's dastard brood.
Trembling, I mark the dread decree:
—Ah, hapless Naples, woe to thee!

V. Appendix, No. XL.

(a) Sagredo, in his *Memorie istoriche de' monarchi Ottomani*, informs us, that Zizim lived only three days after he was consigned to Charles, and died at Terracina, having been poisoned by Alexander VI. who was induced to commit

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. E. 60.

rival of the French, at Velletri, it was also discovered, that Cæsar Borgia, had eloped from



mit this crime, by the promise of an immense reward from the sultan Bajazet. "La cieca gentilità" says the historian, "adorò più idoli; a nostri giorni l'idolo universale è l'interesse." *p.* 97. Guicciardini also informs us, that he was poisoned at the instance of Alexander VI. but mentions Naples as the place of his death, in which last circumstance Corio agrees with him; but accounts for it by the negligence of the French monarch—"per la indiligenza di Carlo." *Stor. Milan. par. vii. p.* 939. This latter account is also confirmed by the testimony of Burchard, who ascertains, not only the cause, but the day of his death—15 *Februr*, *le fils du Grand Turc mourut a Naples—ex esu sive potu non convenienti naturæ suæ & consueti.* On this subject, some curious documents remain, from which it appears, that the pope applied to Bajazet, to assist him in repelling the attack of the French, and had represented to him that Charles intended to obtain the custody of Zizim, in order to promote his views upon the Ottoman state. In the reply of Bajazet (if so atrocious a production can be considered as authentic) he entreats that the pope will have the goodness to put his brother Zizim to death, in such way as he may judge best, and thereby translate his soul to another state, where he may enjoy greater repose. For this deliberate murder, Bajazet solemnly promises to pay to the pope three hundred thousand gold ducats to enable him to purchase a domain for his sons, and to allow the christians a free intercourse in his dominions. On another occasion Bajazet recommends to the pope a proper person to be honoured

from the army and returned to Rome: and although the pope protested, that he was a stranger to this proceeding, and offered to the king any further assurances for his fidelity, it was the general opinion, that this event was only preparatory to a change of conduct in the pope, whenever his interest might seem to require it.

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. E. 28.

The march of the French army towards Naples was marked by cruelty, rapine, and blood. The fortresses of Montefortino and Monte S. Giovanni for a short time retarded their progress; but the attack of their artillery was irresistible, and the soldiers employed in the defence of these places were indiscriminately put to the sword. Apprized of the approach of the French, and apprehensive that his retreat to Naples might be cut off by a detachment under the command of the mareschal De Gies, whom Charles had dispatched for that purpose, Ferdinand abandoned his camp at S. Germano, and retired to Capua, so closely pursued by Charles,

Ferdinand is betrayed by Trivulzio, and escapes to Ischia.

noured with the rank of a cardinal. Such was the fraternal intercourse which at this period subsisted between the Mahometan chief and the head of the christian church! v.

Appendix, No. XLI,

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. E. L. 20.

Charles, that he left on the road a part of his artillery; and the intrenchments which he had quitted in the morning, were occupied by the French in the evening. On his arrival at Capua, he received information, that an insurrection had taken place in Naples, which required his personal interference. Committing, therefore, the chief command of his army to Trivulzio, he hastened to his capital, intending to return the following day; but no sooner had he left the place, than Trivulzio entered into a treaty with Charles, to surrender the city to him, and join his arms. This act of treachery, which stamps the character of this eminent soldier with indelible disgrace, decided the fate of the kingdom. The Neapolitan troops, throwing off all obedience, and eager to anticipate the plunder of the French, licentiously sacked the place; and the count of Pitigliano, and Virginio Orsino, who had, under a safe-conduct from the king, retired to Nola, were made prisoners.(a) On his return from Naples,

(a) " Celuy jour mesme, par maniere subtile,
 " Fut prins a Noste le domp seigneur Virgile;
 " Semblablement le conte Petelinne,
 " Qui aux François cuydoit faire de l'asne."

Vergier d' Honneur.

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A. Et. 20.

ples, Ferdinand was met, at the distance of two miles from Capua, by a deputation of the inhabitants, who apprized him of the calamities which they had suffered. The surrender of this place was followed by that of the other principal cities of the kingdom, which seemed ingloriously to vie with each other, which should first make its submission to the conqueror. Betrayed by his commanders, and abandoned by his subjects, Ferdinand retired to his residence at *Castel-nuovo*; where, having assembled together many of the principal inhabitants of Naples, he explained to them the motives by which he had been actuated in assuming the royal authority, and lamented that his endeavours to remedy the effects of the severity and misconduct of his ancestors, had been prevented by the calamities of the house of Aragon. He then released them from the oath of fidelity and homage which they had so lately taken to to him as their sovereign, and gave them his permission to negotiate with the French monarch for their safety and privileges, in such manner as might seem expedient to them. These sentiments were not heard by the populace without compassion; but all hopes of resisting the approaching torrent, had now vanished; and Ferdinand, being informed

CHAPTER
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Et. 20.

that the insurgents in the city had attacked his palace, and being also apprehensive that attempts would be made to seize his person, and deliver him a prisoner to Charles, privately with drew from the castle, and, accompanied by his uncle Federigo, the queen-dowager of Naples, widow of Ferdinand I. and her daughter Joanna, effected his retreat to the harbour, whence he proceeded to the island of Ischia. Adversity is the natural parent of resignation, and, as the prospect of his native place vanished from his sight, the fugitive monarch was frequently heard to repeat with the Psalmist, "Unless God keep the city, the vigils of the keepers are vain"——(a)

On his arrival at Ischia, an incident occurred which shewed that, notwithstanding his misfortunes, Ferdinand was not devoid either of courage or promptitude. On his demanding admission for himself and his followers into the castle, his lieutenant, Gius-to della Candina, who had already held secret intelligence with the French, refused to

(a) —— "Nisi dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam." *v. Guicciard. lib. i. l. 70.*

to receive them within the walls. A parley took place, in which Candina at length consented that the king should enter alone; probably with an intention of securing his person. The gates were accordingly opened to him; but the lieutenant no sooner made his appearance, than the king, drawing a carbine from beneath his cloak, shot him dead upon the spot. The soldiers, alarmed at the fate of their commander, and awed by the courage of the king, submitted to his authority; and his followers immediately possessed themselves of the garrison.

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. M. 90.

On the twenty-second day of February, 1495, Charles VIII. entered the city of Naples, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the inhabitants.(a) On this occasion, it was observed, that the adherents and favourites of the Aragonese family, who had existed by their liberality, and been exalted by their kindness, were the first to express their attachment to the new, sovereign.(b) But similar situations have, in all

Charles
VIII. en-
ters the ci-
ty of Na-
ples, and
assumes
the govern-
ment of the
kingdom.

x 2

countries,

(a) Guicciard. lib. i. 1. 71. *Mem. de Commynes*, liv. vi. chap. 13.

(b) *Vergier d' Honneur*. Muratori states the number of his

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. E. 90.

countries, produced similar instances of ingratitude; and it can occasion no surprise, that the creatures of a court or a faction, who are actuated by no motives but those of their own interest, should, under every change, adhere to the same rule of conduct. Before his departure, Ferdinand had committed the command of the *Castel-nuovo* to Alfonso Dayalos, marquis of Pescara; who, amidst the defection of all the rest of the Neapolitan nobility, continued to defend the place with unshaken fidelity; and Charles, therefore, after visiting the cathedral, was conducted to his apartments in *Castel-Capua*, the ancient residence of his ancestors of the house of Anjou. Here he received the homage of his new subjects. The Neapolitan barons expressed to him an uniform obedience. The remoter cities and provinces sent deputations to acknowledge their submission to his authority; and, in the course of thirteen days from the time of his departure from Rome, Charles had the satisfaction of finding himself the acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom of Naples.

The

his army, on his entering Naples, at thirty thousand men; independent of the troops he had left in the Tuscan fortresses, in the states of the church, and the other cities of the Neapolitan state. *Annali*, vol. ix. p. 579.

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.Contempo-
rary opini-
ons on that
event.

The intelligence of this important event, was received with very different sensations, by the different states of Italy. In Florence, whither the king had sent the new cardinal Brissonet, to solicit the pecuniary aid of the government, it was celebrated with formal processions and ostensible rejoicings. Whatever were the feelings of Alexander VI. he betrayed no external symptoms of dissatisfaction; but contented himself with sarcastically observing, *that the French had over-run Italy with wooden spurs, and conquered it with chalk*; alluding to a custom prevalent among their officers, who, when riding out for their amusement, used only pointed wood instead of spurs; and to the practice of their foragers, who marked with chalk such houses as were fixed upon for the habitations of the soldiery. (a)

But

(a) *Nardi, Vita di Antonio. Giacomino Tebaldini Malespini, p. 18. Fior. 1597.*

The pusillanimous conduct of the Italian states, received, however, a severer reprehension from the pen of Antonio Tebaldeo; who, with honest indignation, has thus recorded the degradation of his country:

SONNET.

Not with so prompt a foot fierce Hannibal
Rush'd o'er thy fields; nor e'er amid th' alarms
Of Gothic fury and barbarian arms,
Didst thou so tame and unresisting fall,

Ah

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. R. 30.

- But although Charles VIII. had thus succeeded in his enterprize against the kingdom of Naples, much yet remained to be done to secure his acquisitions. The *Castel-nuovo*, and

Ah whence these terrors, that thy sons appal,
 Inglorious Italy! whilst forward springs
 The Gallic cock, and claps his conqu'ring wings;
 Nor hears the voice of answering vengeance call?
 Just is thy doom: for now that honour'd earth,
 That gave to Scipio and Camillus birth,
 Sardanapalus, Midas, Crassus claim.
 Once, in thy better days, a cackling goose,
 From the Tarpeian rock could scare thy foes;
 —Now eagles, serpents, lions—all are tame.

This rude production of a contemporary poet, may at least serve to call to recollection, the elegant sonnet of Vincenzo Filicaja, written about two centuries afterwards, during the war of the Spanish succession, when the French and the Imperialists made Italy once more the theatre of their hostilities. For these sonnets, *v. Appendix, No. XLII.*

SONNET.

Italia! thou to whom in evil hour,
 The fatal boon of beauty nature gave,
 Yet on thy front the sentence did engrave,
 That ceaseless woe should be thy only dower!
 Ah were that beauty less, or more thy power!
 That he who now compels thee to his arms,
 Might gaze with cold indiff'rence on thy charms,
 Or tremble at thine eye's indignant lower!

Then

and *Castello dell'Uovo*, both fortresses of uncommon strength, yet retained their allegiance to their former sovereign. The first attack of the French artillery was upon the *Castel-nuovo*, which surrendered in a few days. The *Castello dell'Uovo* made a longer resistance; but the impetuous cannonading of the French, at length reduced the garrison to the necessity of a capitulation, by which they were suffered to depart in safety, on the thirteenth day of March.(a) The valuable effects contained in these fortresses, were distributed by the king amongst his followers, without discrimination; it having been sufficient to ask, in order to obtain a share of the spoil.(b)

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1494.
A. M. 98.

Charles reduces the fortresses of Naples.

Nor was Charles yet at rest in his new possessions. Whatever might be his pretensions to the crown, the title by which he immediately held it, was his sword; and Ferdinand,
by

Then shouldst thou not observe, in glitt'ring line,
From the high Alps embattled throngs descend,
And Gallic herds pollute thy Po's clear wave;
Nor, whilst encompass'd close by spears not thine,
Shoul'dst thou by foreign hands thy rights defend,
Conqu'ring or conquer'd, evermore a slave.

(a) *Vergier d'Honneur*.

(b) "Il les donna," says Commynes, "à ceux qui les demandoyent." *Mem. liv. vii. ch. 13*.

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1495.

A. Æt. 30.

Charles en-
deavours to
obtain from
Ferdinand
a surrender
of his rights.

by relinquishing his dominions only to a superior force, was justified in attempting their recovery, whenever an occasion should present itself. Aware of these circumstances, Charles became desirous of entering into a negotiation for the purpose of obtaining from Ferdinand a voluntary resignation of his rights. He therefore addressed a letter to Federigo, uncle of the king, then at Ischia, requesting an interview with him at Naples, and offering four hostages for his return. Federigo accordingly proceeded to Naples, where Charles proposed, that, if the king his nephew would relinquish his crown, he would grant him a territory in France, with a considerable revenue, and would also honourably provide for Federigo, and the rest of the family of Aragon. In reply to this proposition, Federigo did not hesitate to assure the king, that he was sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments of his nephew, to know that he would assent to no conditions that would deprive him of his crown; or remove him from his subjects. That if these preliminaries could be conceded, he should be ready to enter into further negotiations, but that Ferdinand was determined either to live or die a king. After a second interview, equally fruitless, though conducted with circumstances of apparent respect and civility,

civility, Federigo took his departure, and returned to announce the result of his voyage to his nephew, who yet remained at Ischia to wait the issue of it.(a)

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Bz. 90.

Of the manner in which Charles employed his time during his residence at Naples, an exact diary has been preserved by his faithful attendant, André de la Vigne. But the observation of this humble annalist, has seldom penetrated beyond the external ceremonies and common occurrences of the day. We may, however, discover, that the king displayed a rigid punctuality in paying his devotions every morning in some of the churches of Naples, and that he occasionally diversified his amusements, by an excursion to *Poggio Reale*,(b) a seat of the Neapolitan sovereigns, situated

Conduct of
Charles at
Naples.

(a) *Guicciard. lib. i. v. i. p. 84.*

(b) "Il alloit quelquefois" says Commynes, translating the appellation into French, "au Mont imperiale;" which has led his commentator, Denis Sauvage, to conjecture, that he went "en manteau imperiale, pour venir a ce qu' aucuns disent qu'il fut couronné pour empereur de Constantinople." Such is the authority on which an Historiographer *du très Chrétien Roi, Henri II.* would imply the pretensions of the French monarchs to the empire of the east!

Mem.

CHAR.
IV.

A. D. 1405.
A. Ed. 28.

situated at a small distance from the city. The king appears also to have been highly delighted with the wonderful display of courage and agility exhibited by a daughter of the duchess of Melfi; who, in the presence of her mother, rode her courser at full speed, and afterwards went through the various exercises of a cavalier; insomuch, that the annalist assures us, it was a miracle to see a young lady perform such "outrageous feats;" nor can he believe that the warlike dames who opposed the Grecians, at the siege of Troy, could have performed one hundredth-part of what was then represented. On the twenty-third day of April a solemn tournament was proclaimed; which was daily renewed until the first of May; and was attended by many distinguished persons, as well from Florence as other parts of Italy, and honoured by the presence of the ladies of Naples.(a) The royal hand was however

Mem. de Comm. lib. vii. chap. 14. This palace was built by Alfonso, duke of Calabria, on his return from his successful expedition against the Turks at Otranto. A very curious account of it is given in the Vergier d'Honneur of André de la Vigne. *v. Appendix, No. XLIII.*

(a) "Et apres disner alla le roy aux lices, ou se devoient faire les joustes, et la trouva le roy plusieurs grans
" seigneurs,

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IV.A. D. 1498.
A. Et 22.

ever employed with more safety, if not with more efficacy, in touching those affected with the evil, who sought, in the condescension of the king, a remedy for their sufferings. Thus prone have the sovereigns of the world generally been, to disregard those calamities which they might have alleviated, and to attempt the relief of those which are beyond their power to cure. On paying his devotions in the church of St. Januarius, the head of the martyr was exhibited to him, and the vessel produced which contained a portion of his blood, which appeared consolidated, like a stone; but on being touched by the king with a silver wand, and placed on the altar before the head of the saint, it began to dissolve, grow warm, and boil, to the astonishment of Charles and his attendants, who were assured that this blood was privy to the secrets of heaven, and

“ seigneurs, tant de Florence que d'Italie, & des dames du
 “ pays, especiellement de Napples; & furent faites les dic-
 “ tes joustes en une grant rue, pres le chasteau-nouve, de-
 “ vant une eglise, fondée des rois de Cécille; (Sicily) c'est
 “ a scavoir de ceulx d'Anjou. Et durerent les dictes jous-
 “ tes des le Mecredy, xxiiii. jour d'Avril, jusques au pre-
 “ mier jour de Mai. Et se nommerent les tenans du de-
 “ dans des dictes joustes *Chastillon et Bourdillon.*” *Jerg.*
d'Honneur.

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IV.

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A. Æt. 20.

The exiled
family ob-
tain the as-
sistance of
Ferdinand
of Spain.

and never dissolved but at the prayers of the just.(a)

Whilst the French monarch was thus consuming, in the most abject superstition, or the most puerile amusements, that time which he ought to have devoted to the regulation and government of his newly acquired dominions, Ferdinand had proceeded from the island of Ischia to Sicily, to consult with his father, Alfonso, on the most likely measures for restoring the fortunes of the family. He found him at Messina, in a convent, surrounded by monks, passing his days in abstinence, and his nights in prayer. The result of their deliberations was such as appeared likely to answer the immediate purpose for which they were intended, the expulsion of the French from the kingdom of Naples ; but, in dangerous situations, there is nothing so much to be apprehended as the recurring to expedients which are worse than the existing evil ; and a serious consideration would have shewn them, that of all the means of assistance, the support and interference of Ferdinand of Spain was the most to be deprecated. The motives
by

(a) *Vergier d'Honneur.*

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by which they were induced to have recourse to his protection, are not indeed difficult to be discovered. Ferdinand was already possessed of the island of Sicily; (a) and the vicinity of so powerful a neighbour as the French monarch, who was avowedly meditating fresh conquests, could not fail to excite in his mind apprehensions for its ultimate safety; whilst the near relationship that subsisted between him and the royal house of Naples, might be supposed to induce him to take a personal interest in their misfortunes. But, whilst the abdicated and exiled monarchs were thus flattering themselves with the advantages to be derived from his support, they ought also to have considered, that this ambitious and politic prince was the unquestionable legitimate heir of Alfonso I. king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples; and that he might naturally regard as a derogation of his hereditary rights, the bequest of the crown of Naples

(a) Dr. Robertson is mistaken in asserting that Ferdinand "acquired the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, by violating the faith of treaties, and disregarding the ties of blood." *Hist. of Charles V. book i.* Ferdinand having succeeded to the undisputed sovereignty of Sicily, on the death of his father, John, king of Aragon and Sicily, the brother of Alfonso I.

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ples by Alfonso, to his illegitimate son, Ferdinand I. the grandfather of its last possessor. It is true he had not only long acquiesced in this separation of the dominions of his house, but had married his sister to his cousin, Ferdinand I. But as the Fortunes of the Neapolitan branch declined, the strength and resources of the Spanish house had increased; and it might, therefore, justly have been suspected, that its representative might now assert his claims, which had been suffered to remain so long dormant, not perhaps from his moderation, but from his inability to enforce them. These obvious suggestions were, however, overlooked, or disregarded, in the panic occasioned by the invasion of the French; and the fatal resolution was adopted of applying to Ferdinand of Spain for his assistance. Bernardo Bernando, secretary to the king of Naples, was the ambassador employed on this occasion. He was received with great attention. The Spanish monarch had not observed with indifference the progress of the French arms in Italy, but had already intimated to Charles, that he should consider his attack on the kingdom of Naples as an act of hostility against himself. He had indeed engaged, by a solemn oath, not to interfere in this contest; but on examining the purport of this engagement

ment it was discovered, that it contained a reservation of the rights of the church, which it was contended would be materially affected by the proceedings of Charles VIII. and besides, the restriction against the interference of the Spanish monarch was on condition, that Charles was rightfully entitled to the crown of Naples; a proposition which it was as easy to deny as to assert. A powerful armament was therefore provided, the command of which was given to Gonsalvo Fernandez, a native of Cordova, of the family of Aguilar, a commander of acknowledged talents, courage, and experience; who immediately repaired to Sicily, to be in readiness to act as circumstances might require; and, by his subsequent victories, converted the appellation of *The great Captain*, originally used by his countrymen merely to designate his authority, into a title which has ever since been attached to his name, as expressive of his superior abilities and virtues.

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IV.

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A. E. 94.

Nor was the progress of the French arms regarded without jealousy and dread by the other states of Italy; and particularly by the person who had been the first and most active promoter of the enterprize, the restless Lodovico Sforza. The extraordinary talents of this

League between the Italian states for opposing the French.

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. 22. 22.

this misguided politician, like sharp implements in the hands of an awkward artificer, not only defeated his intended purpose, but in the result generally proved injurious to himself. Could he have been contented with the rank and influence which he had acquired among the states of Italy, without soliciting the interference of the French; or, after the arrival and success of Charles VIII. had he maintained his fidelity, and assisted the king in securing his new acquisitions, and returning in safety beyond the Alps; in either case, he might, in all probability, have enjoyed without interruption his ill-acquired authority; but there seems to exist in some persons such a propensity to evil, as induces them to overlook the plainest dictates of their own interest, if they happen to be, as they generally are, in unison with morality and good-faith. Even before the arrival of Charles at Naples, Lodovico had entered into negotiations with the senate of Venice, for intercepting and cutting him off on his return to France; and on the last day of March, 1495, a league was concluded at Venice, among the Italian states, under the specious pretext of the defence of their dominions, and the protection of christendom against the Turks, but in fact to oppose the French monarch on his return from Naples.

ples.(a) This combination, which was called the holy league, the most formidable that Europe had then seen, was acceded to, not only by the states of Venice and of Milan, but by Alexander VI. who eagerly availed himself of any opportunity that might protect him against the dreaded power of the French. The emperor elect, Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Spain, were also parties to the convention; and those ideas of a balance of power, by which the Italians had long regulated their

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respective

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(a) Machiavelli thus animadverts on the conduct of Lodovico, on this occasion, in his first *Decennale* :

“ Conobbe allor la sua stultitia certa ;

“ E dubitando cader nella fossa

“ Che con tanto sudor s’havea aperta,

“ Nè li bastando sua natural possa,

“ Fece quel Duca, per salvare il tutto,

“ Co’l Papa, Imperio, e Marco, testa grossa.”

It is amusing to observe with what simplicity Philip de Commines, who was then ambassador of the French king at Venice, relates the manner in which he was imposed upon by the artifices of the Venetian Doge and senators, who flattered him with personal attentions, and assurances of amity, till this formidable league, which he had the mortification to see proclaimed with extraordinary magnificence at Venice, was fully completed. This narration, which occupies the 15th chapter of his seventh book, is highly interesting, and deserves an attentive perusal.

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respective governments, were thus extended to the countries beyond the Alps.^(a) But whilst the ostensible views of this powerful combination were industriously laid before the world, it was secretly proposed, that they should unite their forces in divesting Charles VIII. of the conquest which he had so easily obtained. To this end it was agreed that the Spanish Monarch should assist his relations of the house of Aragon, in the recovery of their dominions; that the Venetians should send a powerful naval armament to occupy the ports of the kingdom of Naples; and that Lodovico Sforza should oppose the arrival of further succours to the French through the states of Milan. It was also stipulated, that considerable sums of money should be advanced to Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain, to enable them to carry an effective war into the provinces of France. To the completion of this league, the concurrence of the other states of Italy was highly desirable; but the duke of Ferrara, with true Italian policy, whilst he permitted his son Alfonso to join the allies at the head of a body of horse,

(a) This treaty is preserved in *Lünig, Codex Italia diplomaticus, tom. i. p. 111.*

horse, as a stipendiary to the duke of Milan, professed his determination to adhere to his former engagements; and the Florentines, well aware that, in case of hostilities, they would be the first to experience the resentment of the French monarch, and not less jealous of the power of the Venetians than of the success of the French, refused to become parties to the convention. (a)

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A. E. 20.

The exultation which the Neapolitans had expressed on the arrival of a new sovereign, was not of long continuance. Notwithstanding the privileges and exemptions granted by Charles to particular cities, which had been the first to acknowledge his authority, the people soon perceived their error, in exchanging the well-regulated, though severe government of the house of Aragon, for the licentious misrule of the French. The great barons of the realm, instead of receiving those favours which they expected as the reward of their ready submission, were deprived of their offices and their domains, which, with the exception of two or three instances, were conferred by Charles, with indiscriminate liberality, upon his ablest generals, and his

Dissatisfac-
tion of the
Neapoli-
tans with
Charles
VIII.

Y 2

most

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital.* lib. ii. 1. 89.

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A. Et. 30.

most worthless dependants.(a) The French soldiery, dispersed through different parts of the country, were restrained by no considerations of either humanity, honour, or decency; and the Italian writers have complained, that even the sanctuaries of religious chastity were not always a sufficient protection against their brutal violence.(b) Under these circumstances it can occasion no surprise, that the Neapolitans should have conceived a speedy aversion to their new governors; and Guicciardini might with safety have rested their dissatisfaction on the general principles of human nature, without seeking for it in the levity and instability of the people.(c)

No

(a) "Tous etats et offices" says Commines, "furent donnés aux François, à deux ou trois." I suspect that Giannone has misunderstood this passage, when he says, "Tutte le autorità, e carichi furono conferiti a due, o tre Franzesi." *Storia di Napoli*, lib. xxix. chap. 2.

For a very just account of the general character of the French in their conquests, v. *Robertson's History of Scotland*, b. ii. vol. i. p. 128.

(b) Corio, *Storia di Milano*, parte vii. p. 939. Benedetti, *Fatto d'arme sul Tarro*. p. 9. b.

(c) "Tale è la natura de' popoli, inclinata a sperare più
" di

No sooner did Charles receive information of the formidable league, so unexpectedly formed between the princes of Italy and

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“ di quel che si debbe, ed a tollerare manco di quel che è
 “ necessario, e ad avere sempre in fastidio le cose presenti;
 “ e specialmente degli habitatori del regno di Napoli, i
 “ quali, tra tutti i popoli d’ Italia, sono notati di instabi-
 “ lità, e di cupidità di cose nuove.” *Guiccard. lib. ii. v. i.*
p. 90.

That the Neapolitans should express their aversion cautiously, under the immediate pressure of a military government, cannot be surprising; yet the voice of complaint was not wholly silent, and the following lines of Crinitus, addressed to Bernardo Caraffa, one of the chief nobility of Naples, may be considered as the expression of a national sentiment. *v. Appendix, No. XLIV.*

ODE.

Thy sad lament, my friend, forbear;
 Nor longer pour the fruitless tear.
 Enough to patriot sorrows given,
 Think not to change the doom of heaven.

We feel the fates, and own their sway,
 Whilst NAPLES sinks, a hapless prey;
 Her iron bondage doom’d to mourn,
 Till that auspicious hour return,

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Coronation
of Charles
VIII. at
Naples.

and the other European states, than he instantly became sensible of the dangers of his situation, and was no less impatient to quit his newly acquired dominions, and return to France, than he had lately been to possess himself of the crown of Naples. He now perceived that the treaties, which he had with so much precaution, and by so many sacrifices, concluded with the European sovereigns, had served no other purpose than to lead him into a snare, from which he could not expect to extricate himself without great difficulty. The desertion of Lodovico Sforza convinced him that no reliance was to be placed upon his Italian allies,

When to his native soil restor'd,
She hails again her former lord;
Him who recalls her ancient fame,
And vindicates her honour'd name.

Yet when that happier dawn shall rise,
My mortal vision ill describes;
And dubious is the voice divine,
Responsive from Apollo's shrine,

But, hark! along the sounding poles,
Signal of hope, the thunder rolls;
And soon th' avenging bolt shall fall
That checks the fury of the GAUL,

allies, and that his only hopes of safety must rest on the courage of his army, in forcing his way through the hostile states of Italy. Critical, however, as his situation might be, he was unwilling to quit the city of Naples without the ceremony of a coronation. With this view he dispatched an envoy to the pope, to endeavour, by the assurance of his protection and favour, to detach him from his new allies, and induce him to grant the bull of investiture. But Alexander, who had refused to assent to his request, when he occupied Rome at the head of a victorious army, was not likely, after the alliances which he had lately formed, to comply with his wishes.^(a) This disappointment

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A. 21. 20.

(a) Summonte, *Storia di Napoli. lib. vi. p. 517 (581)* and after him Giannone, (*lib. xxix. cap. ii. p. 389*) positively assert, that the pope, alarmed by the threats of the king, expedited to him the bull of investiture, and appointed a legate, who performed the office of coronation. It is, however, highly probable, that these two judicious and national historians, have on this occasion fallen into an error. Benedetti, in his *Fatto d' arme sul Tarro*, asserts, that Alexander positively refused to comply with the request of the king; in consequence of which Charles, forgetting his expedition to Jerusalem, threatened to overturn the governments of Italy, and the dominion of the pope. *p. 9.* The negative opinion is also strongly confirmed by the French annalists.

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pointment did not, however, deter Charles from displaying to the Neapolitans, before his departure, a splendid pageant. On the twelfth day of May, the princes and chief nobility, both of France and Naples, and the great barons from other parts of Italy, assembled at *Poggio Imperiale*, and accompanied the king in a solemn procession into the city of Naples, where he made his public entry, as king of France, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was clad in an imperial mantle; the crown on his head; in his right hand he held the ball of gold, the proud symbol of universal empire; in his left the sceptre. The canopy was supported by some of the first nobility of Naples. Gilbert de Bourbon, duke de Mompensier, appeared as lieutenant-general, and viceroy of the kingdom.

nalists. Comménes coldly informs us, that the king was crowned, *liv. vii. chap. 14*; and André de la Vigne, although he minutely describes the ceremony in which Charles swore to maintain the rights of the people, and enumerates the chief of the French nobility who were present on that occasion, neither notices the papal investiture, nor even asserts that any coronation took place. The subsequent flight of Alexander, on the second visit of the king to Rome, may also be admitted as an additional proof, that he had not complied with the wishes of the king in granting his sanction for the coronation.

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A. E. 51.

kingdom. Among those who were habited in royal mantles, as related to the king, were Philip de Bresse, afterwards duke of Savoy, Monsieur de Foix, Monsieur de Luxembourg, and Monsieur de Vendosme. As he entered the city, he was met by great numbers of the nobility and chief inhabitants, with their wives, who presented to him their children, from the age of eight to sixteen, requesting that he would grant them the honour of knighthood, with which he readily complied. Jean Daunay performed on this occasion the office of champion; he was drest in complete armour, and was mounted on a horse richly caparisoned. If we may believe de la Vigne, the citizens of Naples confessed they had never before beheld so accomplished a cavalier. Proceeding to the cathedral, the king approached the great altar, where he promised, under the sanction of a solemn oath, to maintain the rights of his new subjects, and was gratified by the temporary assurances of their loyalty and allegiance.^(a) On this occasion the celebrated Pontano is said to have addressed the king, as the orator of the people of Naples; and

(a) The narrative of this transaction, from the Vergier d' Honneur, is given in the Appendix, No. XLV.

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and the tenor of his discourse, which was supposed to inculcate the unfortunate monarchs of the house of Aragon, by whom he had been uniformly favoured and protected, has stained his character with the indelible blot of ingratitude. As this oration has not reached the present times, it is not easy to determine how far the accusation against him is well founded ; but the circumstance, if true, is itself unfavourable to the fame of the Neapolitan scholar, and it may readily be inferred, that if he undertook an office so inconsistent with his own honour, he would not display much delicacy in its execution.(a)

But

(a) It was most probably also on this occasion, that Raffaello Brandolini, called *Lippo Brandolini il giovane*, made a panegyric oration before the king, which he immediately turned into verse ; on which Charles is said to have exclaimed, *Magnus orator, summus poeta!* It is certain that the monarch conferred on Raffaello a pension of one hundred crowns, and gave him an honourable diploma, which bears date at Castel Capuano, the 18th May, 1495 ; in which he assigns as a reason for his bounty, the services which Raffaello had rendered and might yet render to the king, and that he might be enabled to pursue his studies to advantage. In this diploma he is said to have been *cæcus a nativitate* ; but Mazzuchelli conjectures from his appellation of Lippo, that he was not born blind. v. *Mazz. Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. vi. p. 2018. tit. *Brandolini*. It is indeed not improbable that Brandolini, and not Pontano, made the oration before the king on his coronation at Naples.

But although Charles did not think proper any longer to hazard his own person in the defence of his newly acquired dominions, he judged it expedient to leave a part of his troops, under the command of his most able generals, in possession of the capital, and of the fortresses of the kingdom, with assurances, that he would not only supply them with the necessary means of defence, but would shortly return into Italy, at the head of a more powerful army. Of all the measures adoped by Charles on this expedition, and which Commynes uniformly represents as a series of errors and absurdities, this, upon which he makes no comment, was the most imprudent, and proved in the event the most destructive. Had he concentrated his strength in Naples, and endeavoured to obtain the speediest reinforcements, either by the passes of the Alps, or by means of his fleet, it would have given confidence and security to his adherents, and enabled him to defend himself against the meditated attack; or, had he determined to relinquish his conquests as untenable, he might have returned at the head of his troops, if not with honour, at least with safety to his own dominions; but by dividing his forces, he exposed his own person to the danger of an attack from the superior

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IV.

A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 20.

Charles resolves to return to France.

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A. E. 20.

rior numbers of his enemies, which had nearly proved fatal to him, and left the remainder of his troops to support a hopeless and destructive contest with the arms of the allies, and the partisans of the house of Aragon. On quitting the capital, he entrusted the command of his forces to the duke de Mompensier; who, notwithstanding his indolence, or his levity, had served his master on all occasions with courage and fidelity.(a) D'Aubigny, who had been recompensed for his labours with the states of Acri and Squillazzo, and the title of grand constable of Naples, was appointed to the chief command in Calabria. The strong holds of the kingdom were intrusted by Charles to his most experienced commanders. Of the Italian nobility, the family of Colonna availed themselves the most effectually of his bounty, and were appointed to the chief offices of the state; and it was supposed to be at their request, that Charles retained as prisoners the count of Pitigliano and Virginio Orsino, the chiefs of the rival family of that name, who had been arrested whilst under the sanction of a safe conduct from

(a) "Bon chevalier et hardy," says Commynes, "mais peu sage. Il ne se levoit qu'il ne fût midi."

Mem. liv. viii. chap. i. p. 217.

from the king. These favours did not, however, secure the fidelity of his Roman allies, who had already entered into a secret correspondence with his enemies, and on his departure, were the first to oppose his authority; not perhaps, as Commynes asserts, without cause, but because they were aware that the king, by the imprudent division of his forces, had deprived that authority of its necessary support.^(a)

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Et. 60.

On the twentieth day of May, 1495, Charles quitted Naples, and proceeded directly towards Rome. He was accompanied by Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, at the head of one hundred lances, three hundred Swiss infantry, one thousand French, and an equal number of Gascons. Commynes estimates his force at nine thousand men; all of whom, as he informs us, were young, and in high spirits, fully persuaded that they should meet with no opponents able to take the field against them. Alexander VI. was too sensible of the offences which he had committed, in joining the alliance, and refusing the bull of investiture, to trust for his safety to the assurances of the king;

Proceeds
with his ar-
my through
the Roman
territories.

(a) *Mem. de Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. i. p. 217, 218.

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king; and, being apprized of his approach, quitted the city two days before the arrival of the French, and fled to Orvieto, leaving the cardinal S. Anastasio, as his legate, to receive the French monarch with due honour. The rest of the college of cardinals accompanied the pope; who was also escorted by two hundred men at arms, one thousand light horse, and three thousand infantry.^(a) Charles, after paying his devotions at the great altar of St. Peters,^(b) speedily quitted the city without offering any violence to the inhabitants, and directed his course towards Viterbo; in consequence of which the pope left Orvieto, and passed on to Perugia, whence it was his intention, if the king approached, to retire to Ancona, and take shipping for some other part of Italy.

Arrives at
Viterbo.

Charles arrived at Viterbo on the fifth day of June, and remained there until the eighth

(a) Guicciard. lib. ii. v. i. p. 94.

(b) "Lundy premier de Juin le roy entra dedans
" Romme, et fut logé au palais du cardinal Saint Clement,
" * * * * et incontinent qu'il fut a Romme, ainsi que bon et
" loyal catholique, il alla en l'église de Monsieur Saint
" Pierre de Romme, faire ses offrandes." &c.

Vergier d'Honneur.

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A. 22, 23.

eighth day of the same month, during which time he availed himself of the opportunity of seeing the body of S. Rosa, which the priests shewed him in real flesh and blood, assuring him, she was only in a trance. (a) He here received intelligence that his advanced guard had met with some resistance at Toscanella, a fortified town belonging to the pope, in consequence of which they had taken the place by storm, and plundered it, with the slaughter of about six hundred of the inhabitants; an event which is said to have given him great dissatisfaction; as he was desirous of passing through the territories of the church in as pacific a manner as possible.

On the approach of the king towards Siena, he was met by a deputation of the chief inhabitants, who conducted him into the city; where he was received with great honour, and remained for several days, attracted by the charms of female beauty, and gratified by the sumptuous banquets prepared for him. He had here an interview with his ambassador,
Philip

Arrives at
Siena.

(a) " Et apres la grant messe alla veoir le corps de madame Sainte Rose, qui repose au dit Viterbe en chair et en os, et ne'st que transie." *Vergier d' Honneur.*

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. E. 20.

Philip de Commines, then just arrived from Venice ; whom he questioned with apparent jocularity, but perhaps not without real anxiety, as to the preparations made for opposing his return.(a) The answer of Commines was not calculated to allay his apprehensions. He assured the king that he had been informed by the senate, that the united army of the Venetians and the duke of Milan, would amount to forty thousand men ; but that they were intended to act only on the defensive, and would not pass the river Oglio, unless the king should attack the states of Milan. Commines availed himself of this opportunity to entreat the king to hasten his departure, before his enemies could have assembled their forces, or received succours from the emperor elect, who was reported to be raising considerable levies ; but Charles suffered himself to be detained by a negotiation with the deputies of Florence, who met him at Siena, and solicited, with the utmost eagerness, the restoration of Pisa ; offering not only to pay the contribution stipulated in the treaty, but to advance him seventy thousand ducats as a loan, and to dispatch their
Condottiero

(a) *Commines, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 218.*

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IV.A. D. 1494.
A. 83. 92.

Condottiero Francesco Secco, with three hundred men at arms, and two thousand infantry, to attend him, until his arrival at Asti. The more prudent part of his followers earnestly advised the king to accede to so advantageous a proposal; but the prince de Ligny, a young man, his cousin and favourite, having observed, that it would be a pity to deliver up the people of Pisa into the power of their tyrants, Charles, acting under the impulse of his feelings, and disregarding at once his interest and his oath, rejected the offer. (a) In like opposition to the advice of his most judicious counsellors, but at the request of some of the inhabitants of Siena, he appointed the prince de Ligny, governor of that place; who deputed his authority to Monsieur de Villeneuve as his lieutenant, with whom the king left an escort of three hundred men; thereby diminishing his forces at this critical juncture, without the possibility of deriving from it the slightest advantage. In fact the governor and his attendants were expelled the city in less than a month from his departure. (b)

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(a) *Mem. de Commines, liv. VIII. chap. II. p. 220.*(b) *Ibid.*

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. E. 10.Interview
with Savonarola at
Pisa.

It appears to have been the intention of Charles to have proceeded from Siena to Florence; for which purpose, he advanced as far as Campana, a small town at no great distance from that city;(a) but on his arrival there, he found that, although the Florentines had made preparations to receive him with due honour, they had collected a considerable number of troops, and had filled the city with armed men. These precautions were perhaps not so much to be attributed to their apprehensions from the king, as to their dread of the restoration of the authority of the Medici. They were already apprized that Piero had attached himself to the cause of the French, and that he was then actually in the camp;(b) and they justly feared, that if he were admitted within the walls, he might avail himself of their assistance to regain his former ascendancy. Unwilling to engage in a contest, Charles changed his intentions, and directed his course towards Pisa. In his route he passed through the town of Poggibonza, where he had an interview with the monk Savonarola,

(a) *André de la Vigne, Vergier d'Honneur.*

(b) *Guicciard. lib. ii. v. i. p. 98.*

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A. Æt. 20.

rola, who had been sent by the Florentines, for the express purpose of prevailing upon him to deliver up to them the city of Pisa, and the other fortified places of Tuscany, which had been conditionally entrusted to him. The persuasions of Savonarola were accompanied by threats and denunciations, that if the king violated the oath which he had sworn, with his hand on the evangelists, and in the sight of God, he would incur the wrath of heaven, and meet with a merited punishment; but these representations, although urged by the fanatic with his usual vehemence, seem to have been little regarded by Charles; who at some times undertook to restore the places, and at others alledged, that prior to his oath, he had promised the citizens of Pisa to maintain their liberty;(a) thus availing himself of the inconsistent engagements made with each of the contending parties, to frustrate the requisitions of both.

On the arrival of Charles at Pisa, the same solicitations and entreaties, with which he had been assailed in his route towards Naples, were again renewed with additional importunity,

Eager entreaties of the inhabitants to obtain their liberties.

z 2

and

(a) Guicciard. lib. ii. v. i. p. 98.

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IV.

A. D. 1495.

A. RE. 20.

and no measures were omitted, which might induce him to take the inhabitants under his protection, and enable them to throw off the hateful yoke of the Florentines. In fact, the spirit of political independence was never more strongly evinced by any people than by the inhabitants of this place; who already began to manifest that inflexible disposition, which supported them through the long and severe trial which they were destined to undergo. The streets of the city were lined with escutcheons and bannerets of the arms of France; the principal citizens, with all their attendants, were ready to receive the king; and the children, drest in white satin, embroidered with the *fleurs de lys*, saluted him with exclamations of *Vive le Roi.—Vive la France*. As he proceeded towards the bridge, an emblematical exhibition was prepared, on a scaffold decorated with rich tapestry, which represented a figure mounted on horseback, completely armed, so as to resemble a king of France. His mantle was strewn with lilies, and in his hand he held a naked sword, the point turned towards Naples. Under the feet of his horse, were the figures of a lion and of a large serpent, intended to represent the states of Florence and of Milan. On the following day, the king was formally requested,

ed, by a large body of the inhabitants, to take the city under his protection; but his answer was, as usual, equivocal and unsatisfactory. Those assurances, which the citizens could not obtain, were next solicited by their wives and daughters; who, cloathing themselves in mourning, proceeded, bare-footed, through the streets towards the apartments of the king; and, being admitted to his presence, supplicated, with loud cries and exclamations, his compassion on their husbands, fathers, and children, entreating him to protect them against their oppressors. (a) In his reply, Charles assured them of his affection for the inhabitants of Pisa, and promised so to arrange matters, that they should have reason to be perfectly satisfied. The method which he took for this purpose, was to garrison the citadel with French soldiers, the command of whom he entrusted to D'Entragues, one of the most profligate of his followers; (b) who, without regarding either the honour of his sovereign, or the wishes of the inhabitants, availed himself of the first opportunity of converting his trust to the purposes of his own emolument.

After

CHAP.
VI.

A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 80.

(a) *Vergier d'Honneur.*

(b) "Un appelé Entragues, homme bien mal conditionné:" says *Commines*, *liv. viii. chap. iii.*

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. 71. 20.Louis, duke
of Orleans,
claims the
duchy of
Milan.

After remaining six or seven days at Pisa, Charles proceeded through Lucca and Pietra Santa, to Sarzana. (a) On his arrival there, he received information, that the Genoese had shewn a disposition to free themselves from the dominion of the duke of Milan, whereupon he dispatched the duke de Bresse, with one hundred and twenty men at arms, and five hundred infantry, to encourage the attempt ; which was also to be supported by the French fleet. The Genoese, however, retained their fidelity ; the fleet was wholly defeated and captured at Rapallo ; and the duke de Bresse with difficulty effected a junction with the king at Asti, when it was too late to render him any service. In the mean time the duke of Orleans had not only secured the town of Asti, through which Charles was necessarily to pass, but having also captured the city of Novara, a part of the territory of Milan, had begun to set up his hereditary pretensions, as a descendant of the Visconti, to the dominion of that duchy.

The

(a) At Lucca, says André de la Vigne, the king

“ Fut festie moult honnorablement,

“ En submettant la ville entierement :

“ Les corps, les biens des hommes et des femmes,

“ A son plaisir et bon commandement,

“ Pour le servir de cuer, de corps, et dames,”

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.Massacre of
the inhabi-
tants of
Pontremo-
li.

The advanced guard of the French army was led by the marshal de Gies, who was accompanied by Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio. In approaching the fortified town of Pontremoli, advantageously situated at the foot of the Appenines, and which was garrisoned with three or four hundred soldiers, some resistance was expected; but on the approach of the French, the place was surrendered without the necessity of an attack. On the troops being admitted within the town, a quarrel however arose between some of the inhabitants and a party of German soldiers in the service of the French, in which about forty of the latter lost their lives; a circumstance which so exasperated the rest of their countrymen, that they not only attacked and massacred the inhabitants, but set fire to the place. By this act of barbarity they consumed a considerable quantity of provisions, of which the French army then stood in the greatest need. This outrage, which it was not in the power of the marshal de Gies to prevent, was highly resented by the king; not only on account of the loss of the necessary supplies, at a time when his troops were almost perishing for want, but of the disgrace which it attached to his arms; (a) and it was only in consequence of
a most

(a) " Tant pour la honte, qu'à cause des grans vivres
" qui

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

Charles
passes the
Appenines.

a most essential service, which the German auxiliaries soon afterwards rendered to him, that they were restored to his favour.

Having quitted Sarzana, Charles now arrived at the foot of the Appenines, near the town of Villa Franca; having consumed nearly six weeks in his march from Naples, at a time when his safety chiefly depended upon his passing the mountains, before his enemies had assembled a sufficient force to oppose his progress. The same good fortune, which had attended him on his descent to Naples, seemed, however, to accompany him on his return, and frequently reminded his annalist, Communes, of an interview which he had at Florence with Savonarola; in whose predictions he appears to have placed great confidence; and who assured him, "That God would conduct the king in safety, without the loss of his honour; but that, as a punishment for his neglecting the reformation of the church, and indulging his soldiers in their licentiousness, he must feel a stroke of the scourge." (a) In ascending the mountains, the

"qui y estoient," says Communes, *liv. viii. chap. 4.* a passage which is perfectly intelligible: although his commentator, Sauvages, suggests the alteration of *honte* to *bonté*.

(a) Communes, *liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 220*

IV.

A. D. 1496

A. Et. 39.

the army deviated from its former track, and inclined to the right, towards Parma, where they met with steep acclivities, which rendered the conveyance of their artillery, of which they had about forty heavy pieces, a labour of extreme difficulty. On this occasion the German auxiliaries offered their services to the king, to transport the cannon by their own labour, provided he would restore them to his favour. Yoking themselves in couples, like beasts of burthen, one or two hundred to a piece of artillery, and aided by such horses as could be spared, they at length reached the summit of the mountains ; but the danger and difficulty of descending were not less than those which they had experienced in the ascent, on account of the frequent precipices which they were obliged to pass ; and which induced several of the officers to advise the king to destroy his artillery, in order to expedite his progress ; but to this he would by no means consent. It is however certain, that without the aid of the Germans, the difficulties of conveying the artillery over these rugged and trackless wilds, would have been wholly insurmountable.

Charles had now passed the summit of those hills which form the northern extremity

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.Is opposed
by the alli-
ed army un-
der the
marquis of
Mantua.

mity of the Appenines, and was winding his array through the steep and narrow defiles of the mountains; when, as the plains of Lombardy opened upon his sight, he perceived, at the distance of a few miles, the tents and pavilions of a numerous army, assembled by the allies, to oppose his progress. Of this army, the chief command was entrusted to Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, who was assisted by his uncle Ridolfo, a soldier of acknowledged honour and great experience. Under the marquis, several of the most celebrated generals in Italy led the different bodies of which the allied army was composed. The number is variously stated by contemporary authors. If we may credit the Italian writers, the amount scarcely exceeded that of the French; but Commynes estimated them at the least at thirty-five thousand men.

The allied army had already occupied an eminence on the banks of the river Taro, one of the numerous streams of the Appenines, which discharge themselves into the Po, between Parma and Piacenza.(a) At the distance of about

(a) Cornazzano, in one of his sonnets, enumerates twenty of these tributary rivers; and he might have recorded as many more:

“ Non

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Et. 20.

about three miles from the Italian camp, the advanced guard of the French took possession of the small town of Fornova. From this place the marshal Gies dispatched a messenger to the allied army, requesting that the king might be allowed to pass without interruption to his own dominions, and might be supplied with provisions, for which he was willing to pay. On the arrival of the main body of the French army, which encamped on the banks of the river, between that of the allies and the town of Fornova, these demands were repeated; and Commynes, who was personally acquainted with the Venetian commissaries, was directed to forward the negotiation. Commynes, whilst he undertook the commission, told the king, with great sincerity, that he had little hopes of success, as he had never known two such large armies, so near to each other, quit the field without a trial of their strength.^(a) Nor was he mistaken in this conjecture; for the commissaries, after consulting the chief officers

“ Non ti maravigliar se'l Po vien grosso

“ A primavera, e cresce in Ferrarese;

“ Vinti gran fiumi gli fanno le spese

“ Di neve alpestre, che gli scolla adosso,” &c.

(a) *Mem. de Commynes, liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 227.*

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

officers, returned for answer, that they could not consent to any pacification, unless the king would first lay down his arms, and consent to restore to the duke of Milan the city of Novara, and to the pope the different places in the papal territories which had been occupied by his arms.

Preparati-
ons for an
engage-
ment.

A contest was now unavoidable, and both parties prepared for it with great devotional ceremony, and repeated exhortations to the soldiery. A party of the *stradiotti*, or hus-sars, in the service of the Venetians, had approached towards the French camp, and, falling in with a small detached body, had killed several of them, and dispersed the rest, carrying off the heads of the slain in triumph to the Italian camp. The approach of evening however prevented the general engage-ment till the following day; but a dreadful storm of thunder, attended by a copious fall of rain in the night, seemed to the supersti-tious multitude, to announce some important event, and struck both armies with terror. "On Monday, the sixth day of July," says Commynes, with a simplicity almost ludi-crous, "the gallant king Charles, in com-plete armour, mounted his horse, *Savoy*, "which was presented to him by the duke
" of

“ of Savoy; he was the finest horse I ever
 “ saw; his colour was black, he had only one
 “ eye, was of a middle size, but well propor-
 “ tioned to his rider, who seemed on this oc-
 “ casion, to be quite a different being from
 “ that for which nature had intended him,
 “ both in person and countenance; for he
 “ always appeared, and is still, timid in
 “ his speech, having been educated among
 “ low and effeminate people; but on this oc-
 “ casion, his horse gave dignity to his ap-
 “ pearance; his countenance was firm, his
 “ complexion ruddy, and his expressions
 “ bold and judicious; insomuch that they
 “ reminded me of the promise of Savonarola,
 “ that God would lead him by the hand, and
 “ that his honour would still be preserved to
 “ him.”(a)

CHAR.
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. 24. 29.

The advanced guard of the French army
 was first directed to pass the river with the
 artillery, which was effected with great diffi-
 culty, and by the aid of a considerable num-
 ber of beasts of burden. Next came the battle,
 or cavalry, in the midst of which was the
 king, accompanied by the duke de la Tre-
 mouille.

Battle of
the Taro,

(a) *Commines, liv. vii. chap. vi. p. 227.*

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IV.A. D. 1498.
A. E. 90.

mouille. The rear of the army with the baggage, was brought up by the count de Foix. As the French army began to pass the river, the Italians were in motion. The marquis of Mantua, following close upon the French, attacked their rear with great impetuosity; whilst the other commanders of the allied army, passing the river in different directions, assailed the French troops on every side. The marshal de Gies, with the advanced guard, maintained the strictest discipline, and proceeded with little annoyance; but the king, being compelled to turn his front, to resist the powerful attack of the marquis of Mantua, found himself suddenly in the midst of the conflict, and was frequently in imminent danger of falling into the hands of his enemies; his relation, the bastard of Bourbon, having been made a prisoner within twenty paces of him. In the confusion that ensued, the commanders lost their authority. Gonzaga, rushing furiously among the enemy, fought his way into the midst of them; and after a considerable slaughter, returned in safety to his followers. The French monarch is also said to have performed the duty of a common soldier.^(a) Whilst the event yet remained doubtful,

(a) *Muralori, Annali d' Italia, vol. ix. p. 581.*

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IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 20.

ful, the count of Pitigliano, and Virginio Orsino, availed themselves of the opportunity of effecting their escape, and announced to the Italians the disorder of their enemies, endeavouring, by every possible means, to stimulate their countrymen to continue the battle, and to avail themselves of this occasion to destroy for ever the influence of the French in Italy. Their exhortations were, however, of little avail. More intent on plunder than on victory, the Italian soldiery were inspired with no other emulation than that of acquiring the greatest share of the immense booty which the French had brought with them from Naples; of which having possessed themselves, they deserted their commanders, and took to flight in every direction; and Charles, collecting his scattered army, was suffered to proceed on his march. The royal standards, with the pavilion of the king, and a profusion of spoil, fell into the hands of the allies; (a) but

(a) Among this booty were some singular articles:—
 “ Vi fu trovato un libro, nel quale, sotto diversi habiti ed
 “ età, al naturale erano dipinte molte femine per loro vio-
 “ late in molte città, e seco il portavano *per memoria*.”
Corio, Storia di Milano. 949. Benedetti asserts, that he
 saw this invaluable treasure:—“ Vidi io un libro, nel quale
 “ erano

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. H. 904.

but the French having effected their passage, claimed the honour of the victory. The number slain on the part of the Italians was also much greater than on that of the French.(a)

Among

“ erano dipinte varie imagini di meretrici, sotto diverso habito ed età, ritratte al naturale; secondo che la lascivia, e l'amore l'aveva tratto in ciascuna città: queste portava egli (il Re) seco dipinte per ricordarsene poi.” *Fatto d'arme del Tarro*, p. 31.

(a) Summonte asserts, that two thousand of the French, and four thousand Italians, were slain in this engagement; *Storia di Napoli*, vol. iii. p. 582; but the number is exaggerated. The slaughter of the Italians was in the proportion of more than ten to one of the French, who lost only from two to three hundred men. This is in a great degree to be attributed to the cruelty of the French, who massacred all those who fell into their hands, without making any prisoners, whilst such of the French as were taken by the Italians were well treated, and soon afterwards obtained their liberty. In an interview, which Commynes had soon after the battle, with the marquis of Mantua, that commander recommended to him the prisoners, and particularly his uncle Ridolfo, whom he supposed to be living; “ mais je sçayoye bien,” says Commynes, “ le contraire; toute-fois je l'asseuroye que tous les prisonniers seroyent bien traités, et luy recommanday le Bastard de Bourbon, qu'il tenoit. Les prisonniers par nous detenus estoient bien aisés à penser; car il n'en y avoit point. Ce qui n'advint par adventure jamais en bataille.”

Mem. liv. viii. chap. vii. p. 233.

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1499.
A. Et. 50.

Among them was Ridolfo Gonzaga, with many other noblemen and officers of distinguished rank. Unaccustomed to the profuse shedding of blood in battle, the Italians seem to have considered this as a dreadful engagement. An historian of great authority admits that the event was doubtful, and that it diminished the fear which the Italians had entertained of the French ;(a) but Commynes represents it as an encounter of no great importance. "It was not however," says he, "like the battles to which the Italians had been accustomed ; which sometimes continued a whole day, without either party gaining the victory."(b)

In judging of this engagement, which has been described at considerable length by both

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the

(a) *Thuanus, Hist. sui Temp. lib. i.*

(b) *Mem. de Comm. liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 231.* Machiavelli, in his *Decennale* i. 57. seems to concede the victory to the French :—

" Di sangue il fiume pareva à vedello,
 " Ripien d'uomini e d'arme, e di cavagli,
 " Caduti sotto al Gallico coltello.
 " Così gli Italian' lasciaro andagli;
 " E lor, senza temer gente avversara
 " Giunson in Asti, e senz' altri travagli."

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. ET. 20.

Miscon-
duct of
both par-
ties.

the French and Italian historians, and from which such decisive consequences were expected, it is not easy to determine whether the misconduct of the French, or of the Italians, was the greater. The intention of the French monarch, was to pass the river, and if possible to avoid a battle; in consequence of which attempt, he was not only deprived of the assistance of his advanced guard, in which he had placed almost all his infantry and artillery, but was also exposed, both in flank and in rear, to the attack of the allies. If instead of adopting a measure which was equally imprudent and pusillanimous, he had opposed his enemies in an open contest, it is easy to perceive, from the consequences of this irregular affray, how fatal the event must have been to the arms of the allies; and he might afterwards not only have pursued his march without interruption, but in all probability have possessed himself of the whole territory of Milan. Nor was the conduct of the allies less liable to reprehension than that of the French. The superiority of their numbers, and the advantages which they possessed, in attacking an enemy actually on their march, and impeded by the low and marshy banks of the river, ought to have secured to them an easy and decisive victory.

But

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A. D. 1498.

A. 21. 20.

But their army was divided into many detachments, under generals who paid little respect to the authority of the chief commander. Of these, some were unable from the situation of the place, and others unwilling to take an active part in the engagement. A great number fled at the first report of the French artillery; and of the remainder, the chief part were employed in sacking the French camp, and securing for their private use as great a share of the plunder as they could obtain. The question is not, therefore, which of the contending parties obtained the greatest honour in this engagement; but which of them incurred the least disgrace.

The dread which the Italians had entertained of the French, may in some degree be estimated by the exultation which the event of the battle of the Taro occasioned in Italy. The praises of the marquis of Mantua resounded in every quarter, and the works of contemporary writers yet bear ample testimony to his fame. Ever hostile to the French, Crinitus immediately addressed to him a Latin ode.^(a) Battista Mantuano has celebrated his

A A 2

his

(a) v. *Appendix, No. XLVI.*

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IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. Et. 20.

his prowess in a poetical allusion to his baptismal name ;(a) and Lelio Capilupi has left a Virgilian Cento, intended as an inscription for his statue.(b) Without prostituting his talents to national partiality, or personal flattery, Fracastorius has also adverted to this engagement in a few beautiful lines near the close of the first book of his *Syphilis*, which deserve to be recalled to more particular notice.(c)

No

(a) " Dant sua Romanis victæ cognomina gentes,
" Et jam patratoq̃ testificantur opus :
" At nondum victi dederant tibi nomina *Franci*,
" Hæc tibi venturæ nuntiâ laudis erat."

(b) v. *Appendix, No. XLVII.*

(c) " Dii patrii, quorum Ausonia est sub numine, tuque
" Tu Latii, Saturne, pater, quid gens tua tantum
" Est merita? An quidquam superest dirique gravisque
" Quod sit inexhaustum nobis? Ecquod genus usquam
" Aversum usque adeo cælum tulit? Ipsa labores,
" Parthenope, dic prima tuos, dic funera regum,
" Et spolia, et prædas, captivæque colla tuorum.
" An stragem infandam memorem, sparsumque cruorem
" Gallorumque, Italûmque pari discrimine, quum jam
" Sanguineum, et defunctâ virûm, defunctaque equorum
" Corpora volventem, cristasque atque arma trahentem
" Eridanus pater acciperet rapido agmine Tarrum?"

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495
A. Æt. 90.Ferdinand
II. returns
to Naples.

No sooner had Ferdinand the young king of Naples, received information that Charles had quitted the city, than he made a descent on the coast of Calabria at the head of about six thousand troops, hastily raised in Sicily, and supported by a detachment of Spaniards under the command of Gonsalvo da Cordova; but the gallant d'Aubigny, to whom the defence of that part of the kingdom had been entrusted, was prepared for their reception; and in an engagement near Seminara, defeated them with considerable loss. Gonsalvo fled across the mountains, and Ferdinand returned to Messina, after owing his life to the generosity of his page, Giovanni di Capua, brother to the duke of Termini, who relinquished his horse to the king when his own was slain under him, and thereby met with that death which would otherwise have been the fate of his master. At Messina he fitted out a fleet, consisting of numerous, but small and weakly manned vessels, and proceeded towards Naples, where he was in hopes that the inhabitants would have shewn some demonstrations of their attachment to his cause. Disappointed in his expectations, after hovering three days on the coast, he was proceeding to the island of Ischia, when
a bark

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1405.
A. EL. 20.

a bark arrived from Naples, with information, that his return was most ardently wished for by the inhabitants, who were only prevented by the presence of the French soldiery from manifesting their loyalty, and that if he would make a second descent on the coast, they would be ready to espouse his cause. On the day following that of the battle of the Taro, Ferdinand landed at Madalena, near the mouth of the river Sebeto, within a mile of Naples; and whilst the duke de Mompensier led out the French troops to oppose his progress, the inhabitants, tumultuously taking up arms, closed the gates of the city against their conquerors, and opened them only to receive their former sovereign, who entered, amidst the most joyful acclamations, into a place, which he had quitted only a few months before, as an outcast and a fugitive.

Contests
between
the French
and Neapolitans.

The French, however, still retained possession of the two fortresses of Naples, the *Castel-nuovo*, and *Castel dell'-Uovo*, where the duke de Mompensier for some time resisted the attacks of Ferdinand, till, being at length reduced to extremities, he effected his escape in safety to Salerno. At this place he again raised the French standard, and reinforced his small army by the accession of several powerful

powerful partisans ; till, conceiving himself sufficiently strengthened to hazard another attack, he approached towards Naples, defeated a considerable body of the Aragonese, and occasioned such consternation in the city, that the king was once more on the point of seeking his safety by flight. A timely reinforcement from the pope, and the powerful assistance of Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, at length enabled Ferdinand to repel his enemies ; and the provincial cities of Capua and Nola, with many other important places, returned to their allegiance, and acknowledged him as their sovereign. The duke de Mompensier withdrew into the city of Atella, now called Aversa, where he strongly fortified himself ; whilst d'Aubigny still kept possession of Calabria, in the hope of supporting himself till the promised succours should arrive from France.

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IV.

A. D. 1496.
A. Et. 20.

Amongst the other powers to whom Ferdinand had resorted for assistance in his necessities, he had not neglected the senate of Venice ; who, having now avowed an open hostility to the French, sent to his succour a well-armed fleet, and a considerable body of troops, under the command of the marquis of Mantua, who had so well established his military

Expulsion
of the
French
from the
kingdom of
Naples.

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. Æt. 60.

litary reputation at the battle of the Taro. This assistance was not, however, obtained without important sacrifices on the part of the king; and the Venetians were to be put in possession of Brindisi, Trani, Gallipoli, Otranto, and other places on the coast of the Adriatic, as pledges for the performance of the conditions on which it was furnished. On commencing the attack of Atella, Ferdinand was also joined by a body of Swiss troops, who had just arrived in Italy to co-operate with the French; but who now turned their arms against their employers, when they were no longer able to advance them the stipulated pay. In this emergency, the duke de Mompensier had recourse to d'Aubigny, whom he earnestly entreated to send him immediate succours; and although that general, then in an infirm state of health, had to contend with the Spanish troops under the command of Gonsalvo, who had again taken the field, yet he sent a detachment to his assistance under the command of the count de Moreto and Alberto Sanseverino. Gonsalvo however surprised and defeated the French troops on their march, and made both the commanders prisoners. He then hastened to Atella, and uniting his arms with those of the king, blockaded the place so effectually, that

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. M. 50.

that the duke was reduced to the necessity of proposing a capitulation. A truce of thirty days was agreed on; and it was further stipulated, that if within that time a considerable armament should not arrive, the duke should not only surrender the fortress of Atella, but all the other places dependant on the French in the kingdom of Naples. Having secured his own retreat, Charles paid little regard to the safety of the faithful soldiers whom he had left in Italy.^(a) The expected succours did not appear, and the treaty was accordingly concluded. But Ferdinand, who had engaged to send the duke and his troops by sea to Provence led them prisoners to the amount of about six thousand men, to Naples, whence they were conveyed to the island of Procida, and other unhealthy places, where upwards of two-thirds of them perished by sickness, famine, and pestilence. The duke de Mompensier shared the same fate, having died at Pozzuolo, leaving behind him the character of a good soldier and a faithful subject. D'Aubigny had made some progress in Calabria; but hearing of the capitulation of Atella, and being again closely pressed by Gonsalvo, he finally withdrew his troops from the Neapolitan

(a) *Mem. de Commynes*, liv. viii. chap. xiii

CHAP. IV. politan territory, and had the good fortune to return with them in safety to France.

A. D. 1496.

A. Et. 29.

Charles
VIII. forms
a new alli-
ance with
Lodovico
Sforza, and
returns to
France.

The capture of Novara by the duke of Orleans, which had been considered as an event highly favourable to the French, proved in the result one of the most humiliating and destructive incidents which had occurred during the war. Soon after the battle of the Taro, Novara was invested by the allies, who possessed themselves of the approaches, and so effectually cut off all supplies, that the duke of Orleans, with a numerous garrison, was reduced to the utmost extremity of famine. In this emergency, Charles had no resource but to enter into a treaty with Lodovico Sforza, for a temporary cessation of hostilities, which he with great difficulty obtained; and the duke of Orleans and the marquis of Saluzzo with a small party of their friends, were suffered to visit the king at Vercelli, under a promise of returning to Novara, in case a final treaty was not concluded on. This circumstance led to a more general discussion between the adverse parties, in the course of which, Lodovico again changed his politics, and without the assent of his allies, entered into a league of perpetual peace and amity with the king, in which, among

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1494.
A. Æt. 29.

among other articles, Lodovico agreed to allow him to fit out a fleet at the port of Genoa, and promised to grant him a free passage on his return to Naples, and assist him with money and troops. The bastard of Bourbon, with the rest of the French, made prisoners at the battle of the Taro, were set at liberty, and power was reserved for the Venetians to enter into the treaty within the space of two months, in which case they were to recall their fleet from Naples, and undertake not to afford any assistance to the house of Aragon. The city of Novara was restored to Lodovico; in consequence of which the French garrison, after having lost upwards of two thousand of their number by famine and disease, were led from thence to Vercelli, so exhausted through want of sustenance, that many of them perished on the road, and upwards of three hundred died after their arrival.^(a) No sooner was the treaty concluded, than Communes was again dispatched to Venice, to induce the senate to accede to the terms proposed; and Charles taking the route of Turin,

(a) The number which quitted Novara, was about five thousand five hundred men, of whom not more than six hundred were able to perform duty. *Communes*, liv. viii. chap. x.

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. EL. 96.Conse-
quences of
the expe-
dition of
Charles
VIII. into
Italy

rin, returned in the month of October, 1495, to France, with the remains of his army; plundered, diseased, and reduced to less than one-fourth of its original number.

Thus terminated the celebrated expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples; an expedition originating in puerile ambition, conducted with folly and rapacity, and ending in the dissipation of the revenues of his crown, and in the destruction of his army. That he accomplished his object, is the boast of the French historians; but it is easy to perceive, that the successes of Charles VIII. are not to be attributed so much to his courage or to his abilities, as to the weak and irresolute conduct of his adversaries, the selfish and temporizing policy of the Italian states, and above all, to the odium excited against the house of Aragon, by the cruelties exercised by Ferdinand I. and his son Alfonso on their subjects. If these advantages could have been counter-vailed by any misconduct of his own, the defeat of Charles had been certain. Such were his necessities in the commencement of his undertaking, and such the difficulties with which he provided for his soldiery, that he was not only obliged to borrow money at a
most

most exorbitant interest, but even to plunder his friends and allies. The time chosen for his enterprize, could not indeed have been more favourable to his views; for many causes had concurred to disgust the people of Italy with their rulers, and had led them to regard the French as their friends and deliverers; and as a nation, on whose honour and good faith they could place the most perfect reliance: but this error was not of long duration; and the cruelty and disorder which distinguished the march of the French army, soon convinced their partisans and admirers, that the expected change was not likely to promote their happiness. The irruption of the French seemed to be the extinction of all literature in Italy. (a) The example of a weak

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1493.
A. Et. 28.

(a) " Nescio quo fato superiore anno evenit, quo
 " Francorum rex Carolus Italiam cum infesto exercitu et
 " instructis copiis invasit, ut principes viri in literis, at-
 " que in summis disciplinis clarissimi perierint: hoc est,
 " *Hermolaus Barbarus, Io. Pius Mirandula, et An. Poll-*
 " *tianus*; qui omnes in ipso statim Francorum adventu et
 " conatibus, immaturo obitu, ad superos concesserunt. Sed-
 " enim literæ ipsæ, ac studium bonarum artium, simul
 " cum Italiciæ libertate, coeperunt paulatim extinguere, barba-
 " ris ingruentibus, cum decessent hi homines, qui illas, suo
 " patrocinio, assiduisque studiis, mirificè foverent. Qualis
 " inter

CHAP.
IV.A. D. 1495.
A. ET. 20.

weak and licentious monarch corrupted his followers. An incredible degree of debauchery and prostitution prevailed. The restraints of modesty, the ties of morality, the voice of religion, were all equally disregarded; and the hand of Providence almost visibly interfered, to punish by the scourge of a loathsome and destructive malady, those enormities which no other motives could restrain. Shocked at this hideous disease, the Italians and the French recriminated on each other the disgrace of its introduction; and the appellations of *mal de Naples*, and *mal Francese*, were intended by each of these nations to remove to the other the infamy of its origin. Of all the consequences incident to the expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples, it is probable that this will be the longest remembered. In other respects, this event seems only to have served to break down those

" inter alios vir summa sapientia & egregio animo *Laurentius Medicis* * * * * Quæ res monere interdum me solet, quam brevi tempore fortunæ ratio commutetur, quamque iniquè nunc agatur cum bonis studiis; siquidem pro melioribus disciplinis vitia, pro humanitate et officiis bella et cædes succreverunt." *Crinitus, de honestâ Discipl. lib. xv. cap. ix.*

those barriers, which nature had formed to secure the repose of mankind, and to have opened a wider field for the range of ambition, and the destruction of the human race.

CHAP.
IV.

A. D. 1495.
A. E. 20.



CHAP. V.

1496—1499.

MARRIAGE of Ferdinand II. of Naples—

His death—Contest respecting the dominion of Pisa—Descent of the emperor elect Maximilian into Italy—The Medici attempt to regain their authority in Florence—Death of Béatrice of Este—Alexander VI. attacks the Roman barons—Recovers the city of Ostia—Death of the duke of Gandia son of Alexander VI—Particular account of that event—Casar Borgia accused of the murder of his brother without sufficient evidence—Second attempt of the Medici to enter the city of Florence—Fatal consequences to their partisans within the city—Paolo Vitelli appointed general of the Florentines against Pisa—The Florentines form an alliance with Lodovico Sforza—Death of Charles VIII. and accession of Louis XII.—Death of Savonarola—Vitelli captures the fortress of Vico Pisano—Third attempt of the Medici to regain their native place—The contest respecting Pisa submitted to the decision of Ercole duke of Ferrara—His interference proves ineffectual—The inhabitants of Pisa resolve to defend themselves—Vitelli effects a breach in the walls—Neglects to avail himself of his advantages—Is brought to Florence and decapitated.



CHAP. V.

THE death of Alfonso II. the fugitive king of Naples, which happened at Messina on the nineteenth day of November, 1495, had confirmed to Ferdinand the possession of the crown ; and he being now freed from the apprehensions of the French, thought it expedient to enter into the matrimonial state. For his bride he selected his aunt Joanna, the half-sister of his father, then only fourteen years of age, but highly distinguished by her beauty and accomplishments. This marriage gave great scandal to the christian world ; (a)

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1495.

A. Et. 21.

Marriage of
Ferdinand
II. king of
Naples.

B B 2

but

(a) " Ce me semble horreur," says Commynes, " de
" parler

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1496.
A. Et. 51.

His death.

but the dispensation of the pope speedily removed all difficulties. Guicciardini, who supposed that mankind are always actuated by motives of political interest, accounts for this union by presuming, that Ferdinand wished to strengthen his connexion with the king of Spain ; but had the ties of consanguinity been a sufficient title to his favour, Ferdinand already stood nearly related to him ; and it is therefore more probable, that the motive of his choice was the gratification of an amorous passion, which he had conceived for his aunt during their voyage to Sicily. This is rendered yet more probable by the accounts given of the cause of his death ; which event took place on the 5th day of September, 1496, and was said to have been occasioned, or accelerated, by the excessive indulgence of his passion for his new bride.(a) As he left no offspring, he

“ parler d'un tel mariage ; dont on en fait ja plusieurs en
“ cette maison.” *Mém. de Commines, lib. viii. chap.*
xiv. p. 251.

(a) *Summonte, Hist. di Napoli, iii. lib. vi. p. 583.* He is commemorated by the following lines, in the sacristy of the church of S. Domenico, at Naples :

“ Ferrandum, Mors sæva, diù fugis arma gerentem ;
“ Mox positis, quænam gloria ? fraude necas.”

he was succeeded in his dominions by his uncle Federigo, a prince of excellent dispositions, and considerable talents; but the ambition of his contemporaries, and the unfavourable circumstances of the times, prevented his people from enjoying that happiness which they might otherwise have experienced under his government.

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1496.
A. Et. 21.

Before Charles VIII. had quitted Turin, on his return to France, another interview had taken place between him and the Florentine deputies; who still pursued him with their solicitations and remonstrances; and by the advance of a large sum of money, of which he stood greatly in need, and many unreasonable concessions, obtained from him a definitive assurance that Pisa should again be restored to them.^(a) Directions were accordingly sent to d'Entraghes to surrender to them the citadel; but these directions were either accompanied by others of a contrary tendency, or d'Entraghes preferred his own interest to the honour and the favour of his master; for, instead of complying with the orders of the king, he sold the fortress to the inhabitants

Contests
respecting
the domini-
on of Pisa.

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Italia*, lib. 1. 120.

CHAP. inhabitants of Pisa, for the sum of twelve
V. thousand ducats; and, having received the
A. D. 1498. money, relinquished it into their hands.
A. Et. 21.

The Florentines thus deluded in their expectations, had immediate recourse to arms. The citizens of Pisa, on the other hand, not only prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity, but endeavoured, by the most earnest solicitations, to obtain assistance from several of the other states of Italy, and even of Europe; to whom they did not hesitate to offer the dominion of their city, provided they were freed from the yoke of the Florentines. The Venetians, eager to extend the limits of their territories, were among the first to listen to their entreaties. Lodovico Sforza also engaged in their defence. The Florentine army under the command of Paolo Vitelli, attempted to storm the city; but after having driven in, with great precipitation and slaughter, the troops employed in its defence, and possessed themselves of the suburbs, they were, in their turn, obliged to retreat by the artillery of the citadel; their commander being wounded and many of the soldiery killed. Encouraged by their success, the citizens of Pisa took the field, and opposed themselves

themselves to the Florentines, over whom they obtained some advantages, although no decisive engagement took place.

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1496.
A. Æt. 21.

In this situation of affairs a new competitor made his appearance, with the intention of terminating at once the pretensions of inferior powers, and of taking the city of Pisa under his own protection. This was no less a personage than the emperor elect Maximilian; who, induced by the offers of the citizens of Pisa, and the persuasions of Lodovico Sforza, passed, in the month of October, 1496, with a party of horse and eight regiments of infantry, through the Valteline into the territories of Milan. After having been splendidly entertained during some days by Lodovico, he hastened to Genoa, where he embarked with his troops for Pisa; but on his arrival there, he found that the Venetians had already occupied the garrison as auxiliaries to the inhabitants, and, conceiving themselves equal to the defence of the place, did not choose that he should share with them either in the honour or the spoil. He then sailed to Leghorn, which place he cannonaded for several days, and where he had nearly lost his life by a ball, which carried away a part of the

Descent of
the emperor
elect
Maximilian
into Italy.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1496.
A. Æt. 21.

the imperial robe. This place was defended by the celebrated Tebalducci, the first of the Florentine *Condottieri* who succeeded in introducing a proper state of subordination and discipline amongst the Italian soldiery. (a) During this contest the Venetian commissaries admonished Maximilian to desist, as they had themselves pretensions to the possession of the place. He then determined to attack the Tuscan territories, for the purpose of devastation and plunder; but at this moment a violent tempest dispersed his fleet. Finding all his purposes defeated, and apprehensive for his own safety, Maximilian abandoned his enterprize, and took the speediest route to his own dominions; where he arrived, full of animosity against the Venetians, and with no small discredit to his character as a military commander.

The Medici attempt to regain the city of Florence.

Whilst the Florentines were thus contending with powerful enemies abroad, and were distracted by discordant opinions, and the inflammatory harangues of Savonarola at home, the brothers of the Medici conceived that a favourable

(a) Nardi, *Vita d' Antonio Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini*. Fior. 1597. 4to. *passim*.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1498.
A. M. 511.

favourable opportunity was afforded them for attempting to regain their authority in their native place. For this purpose they formed the project of an attack upon the city, in conjunction with their kinsman Virginio Orsino, who after having escaped from the custody of the French king at the battle of the Taro, had again begun to collect his adherents, in hopes of retrieving the fortunes of his house by the sale of their services. The Medici were then at Rome; but Virginio having flattered them with the fairest hopes of success, if the necessary resources could be found for the payment of his troops, they exerted themselves in procuring for him large sums of money, with which he continued to increase the number of his followers. The three brothers also employed themselves with great industry, in collecting together their adherents from all parts of Italy. Piero having obtained pecuniary assistance from the Venetians, and being favoured in his enterprize by the pope, raised a considerable number of troops within the papal states, with which he advanced through the territory of Siena to the lake of Perugia, expecting to be joined by such levies as his brother Giuliano had been able to assemble in Romagna. A formidable body
being

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1496.
A. M. 21.

being thus collected, Virginio and Piero de' Medici passed in the midst of winter into Umbria; and, by a toilsome march through the snow, at length reached the baths of Rapollano. The Florentines had, however, been apprized of the attempt, and had withdrawn a part of their troops from Pisa for their own defence. They had also fortified and strengthened the cities of Arezzo and Cortona, and continued to watch with unremitting vigilance the adherents of the Medici within the walls of Florence. The vigour and promptitude of these precautions, depressed the hopes of the assailants, who had relied more on the exertions of their friends within the city, than on their own force, and supposed that the appearance of a powerful military body in the vicinity, would encourage them to declare themselves. No disturbance was however excited; and Virginio, instead of proceeding to the attack, contented himself with plundering the defenceless villages for the subsistence of his troops. Whilst such was the hopeless state of the expedition, he received highly advantageous offers to induce him to relinquish his undertaking, and join the standard of the French, then on the point of being expelled from the kingdom of Naples.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1498
A. E. 21.

Naples. Virginio did not long hesitate between his honour and his interest. Even his animosity to the king of France, who had unjustly detained him as a prisoner, gave way to the hopes of gain; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Piero and his friends, he led his troops toward Naples; not, however, without the most solemn promises that, as soon as the contest respecting that kingdom should be terminated, he would return to Tuscany, with a more powerful armament: promises which if sincere, he never had an opportunity of fulfilling; for, being captured with the duke de Mompensier at Atella, he experienced the same fate as that officer, having died whilst a prisoner at Naples.^(a) The cardinal de' Medici and his brother Giuliano, who had in vain endeavoured to prevail upon Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, to assist them in their attempt, were now obliged to retire from that place, and to seek for shelter within the territories of Milan.^(b)

Early in the year 1497, the prosperous fortunes of Lodovico Sforza were interrupted by

(a) *Nardi. Hist. Fiorent. lib. ii. p. 28.*

(b) *Jovii, Vita Leon. x. lib. i. p. 17, 19.*

[CHAP.
V.]A. D. 1497.
A. Et. 42.Death of
Beatrice of
Este, wife
of Lodovico
Sforza.

by a domestic disaster, which was the harbinger of his approaching calamities. His wife Beatrice, the partner of his ambition, his grandeur, and his crimes, and of whose councils he had on every occasion availed himself, died in child-bed, after having been delivered of a son, who did not survive his mother. (a) Though insensible, or regardless of the distress which he had occasioned throughout Italy, Lodovico sunk under his misfortune in weak and unmanly sorrow; and sought to alleviate his grief, and at the same time perhaps to gratify his ostentation, by the most expensive and splendid obsequies, which were repeated with additional magnificence, on the expiration of a year from the death of his wife. During this interval he never seated himself at his table; but was served in a chamber

(a) The epitaph which Lodovico caused to be placed over the body of his child, displays his arrogance in the midst of his grief.

“ Infelix partus, amisi ante vitam quàm in lucem
 “ ederer; infelicioꝛ quòd matri moriens vitam ademi, et
 “ parentem consorte sua orbavi. In tam adverso fato hoc
 “ solum mihi potest jucundum esse, QUOD DIVI PARENTES
 “ ME LUDOVICUS, ET BEATRIX, MEDIOLANENSES DUCES,
 “ GENVERE, 1497, TERTIO NONAS JANUARIIS.”

Corio, Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 962.

ber hung with black, from the hands of his attendants.(a) Such a violent and persevering sorrow, caused him to be considered, throughout all Italy, as a paragon of conjugal fidelity; and the poets of the time sought to assuage his grief by celebrating his affection, and embalming the memory of his wife in their verse.(b)

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1497.
A. Et. 92.

Alexander VI. being now firmly seated in the pontifical chair, and freed from his apprehensions

(a) *Gorio, Histor. Milan. parte vii. p. 962.*

(b) Among these was the Greek Marullus, who has devoted the following hyperbolical lines to her memory:

- " Solverat Eridanus tumidarum flumina aquarum;
- " Solverat, et populis non levis horror erat.
- " Quippe, gravis Pyrrhæ metuentes tempora cladis,
- " Credebant simili crescere flumen aqua.
- " Ille dolor fuerat sævus, lacrymæque futuri
- " Funeris, et justis dona paranda novis:
- " Scilicet et fluvios tangunt tua acerba, BEATRIX,
- " Funera, nedum homines mœstaque corda VIRI."

Epigr. lib. iv.

On the same subject, the learned Pontico Virunio wrote four books of Latin elegies, "historiis Græcorum, et fabulis reconditis refertos, pulcherrimæque inventionis digestos;" from the perusal of which, Lodovico, it seems, derived great consolation. *Zeno Diss. Voss. vol. ii. p. 315.* These elegies have not been printed.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. Æt. 22.Alexander
VI. attacks
the Roman
barons.

ensions of the French, began to adopt those vigorous measures for the subjugation of the Roman nobility, and the aggrandizement of his own family, which he pursued with unremitting industry during the remainder of his life. His eldest son Giovanni, had been honoured by Ferdinand of Spain with the title of duke of Gandia; Cæsar, his second son, had been raised to the dignity of the purple; and his daughter Lucrezia, who before the elevation of her father, had been married to a Spanish gentleman, was, soon after that event, divorced from her husband, and became the wife of Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro. The first hostile attempt of the pontiff was directed against the territories of the Orsini; who had equally disregarded his admonitions and his threats, and had united their arms with those of the French. The command of the papal troops destined to this expedition, was entrusted to the duke of Gandia; who was accompanied by Guidubaldo da Montefeltri, duke of Urbino, a commander of acknowledged courage and experience. After possessing themselves of some places of inferior importance, they commenced the siege of Bracciano. This event first called into action the military talents of Bartolommeo d' Alviano, then very young, but who afterwards

afterwards established his reputation as one of the most accomplished commanders of Italy. In conjunction with Carlo, the illegitimate son of Virginio Orsino, and Vitellozzo Vitelli, he vigorously attacked the papal troops. The engagement continued for several hours; in the result the Roman generals were completely routed; the duke of Urbino was taken prisoner, with several other noblemen and officers of high rank; but the duke of Gandia effected his escape, after having been slightly wounded in the thigh. Thus disappointed in his attempt to wrest from the family of Orsini their patrimonial possessions, Alexander had recourse, for the aggrandizement of his offspring, to another expedient. With the consent of the college of cardinals, he separated from the states of the church the city of Benevento; and erecting it into an independent duchy, conferred it, with other domains, on his eldest son.(a)

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1497.
A. Et. 22.

Although

(a) " Feria quarta, septima Junii, fuit secretum consistorium, in quo serenissimus D. noster erexit civitatem Beneventanam in ducatum, et de consensu omnium cardinalium qui interfuerunt, nullo se opponente, seu minum verbum contradicente, infeudavit illustrissimum
" dominum

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. Et. 23.Recovers
the city of
Ostia.

Although Charles VIII. after his return from his Neapolitan expedition, had relinquished to the pope the fortresses of Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and other places within the papal state which he had occupied by his arms, he still retained the city of Ostia, the command of which he had entrusted to the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, bishop of that place.(a) The expulsion of the French from Naples by the aid of the Spanish troops under the command of Gonsalvo, had not only encouraged the pope to attempt the recovering of this important station, but afforded him an opportunity of carrying his intentions into effect by the aid of Gonsalvo, who being then unemployed, gladly accepted of the lucrative offers of the pontiff to assist in the attack. Uniting his arms with those of the pope, Gonsalvo proceeded to bombard the fortress; but the cannonading had scarcely commenced, when Menaldo, who held the place for the cardinal, and who by his piratical

“ dominum Johannem Borgia, de Arragonia ducem Gandiæ,
“ S. R. E. capitaneum generalem, filium suum carissimum,
“ mum, et omnes successores suos, ex lumbis descendentes.” &c.

Burchard. Diar.

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. ii. 1. 94.

cal depredations had greatly annoyed the navigation of the Tiber, surrendered at discretion; and was led by Gonsalvo, in triumph, to Rome. On his approach to the city, Gonsalvo was met by the sons of the pontiff, the cardinals and prelates of the church, and by an immense concourse of the people, who were anxious to see a man whose exploits had already extended his fame throughout all Italy. He was immediately introduced to the pope, who received him with the holy kiss, and bestowed upon him, in full consistory, the golden rose which is annually consecrated by the pontiff, and presented only to sovereigns and great princes, who have merited the favour of the holy see.^(a) On this occasion Gonsalvo gave a proof of his magnanimity, in prevailing on the pontiff to spare the life of Menaldo; who being set at liberty, was permitted to retire to France.^(b)

CHAP.
VI

A. D. 1497.
A. M. 98.

The exultation of the pontiff on this occasion was not, however, of long continuance, having been speedily succeeded by a most tra-

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c c

gical

(a) *Jovii Vita magni Gonsalvi*, lib. i. p. 222.

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d' Italia*, lib. iii. 1. 175.

QUAR
VI

A.D. 1507.
A. 23. 13.

Death of
the duke of
Gandia son
of Alexan-
der VI.

gical event, that not only blasted in a great degree the hopes of his family, but branded it with a stigma, which has rendered it peculiarly odious to future times. This was the death of the duke of Gandia; who, after having passed the evening at a splendid entertainment given by his mother, was on his return home assassinated, and his body thrown into the Tiber; where it remained undiscovered for several days. The perpetration of this crime has been imputed by the Italian historians, without hesitation, to Caesar Borgia; who, being disgusted with his ecclesiastical profession, and earnestly desirous of signaling himself in a military capacity, is supposed to have considered his brother as having pre-occupied the station which he was desirous of obtaining; and to have been jealous of the superior ascendancy which the duke had acquired in the favour of the pontiff. In examining these motives, it might indeed be observed, that the destination of the elder brother to a secular employment did not necessarily confine the younger to an ecclesiastical state; and that the honours bestowed on the duke of Gandia, did not seem to prevent the pontiff from promoting the interests of his second son, whom he had placed in such a station, as to afford him an opportunity of obtaining the highest

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. B. 27.

highest dignity in christendom. Some authors have, therefore, not scrupled to suggest a more powerful cause of his supposed enmity, by asserting, that he was jealous of the preference which the duke had obtained in the affections of their sister Lucrezia, with whom it is said, that not only the two brothers, but even Alexander, her father, had criminal intercourse.^(a) Frequently however as this charge has been repeated, and indiscriminately as it has been believed, it might not be difficult to shew, that, so far from this being with justice admitted as a proof that Cæsar was the perpetrator of the murder of his brother, the imputation is in itself in the highest degree improbable; and this transaction must therefore be judged of by such positive evidence as yet remains, without presuming

C C 2

the

(a) "Era medesimamente fama, se però è degno di credersi tanta enormità, che nell' amor di Madonna Lucrezia concorressino, non solamente i due fratelli, ma eziandio il padre medesimo."

Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib. iii. 1. 182.

"On avoit des preuves convaincantes," says the compiler Moreri, "que Cæsar étoit l'auteur de ce fraticide; car, outre ses intérêts d'ambition, il ne pouvoit souffrir que le duc de Gandia eut plus de part que lui aux bonnes grâces de Lucrece Borgia, leur sœur, et leur maîtresse." *Moreri, art. Cas. Borgia.*

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. Et. 22.

the guilt of Borgia from circumstances which are yet more questionable than the crime of which he stands primarily accused. (a)

Particular
account of
this event.

The most interesting and particular account of this mysterious event is given by Burchard; and is in substance as follows: "On the eighth day of June, the cardinal of Valenza, (Cæsar Borgia) and the duke of Gandia, sons of the pope, supped with their mother Vanozza, near the church of S. *Pietro ad vincula*; several other persons being present at the entertainment. A late hour approaching, and the cardinal having reminded his brother that it was time to return to the apostolic palace, they mounted their horses or mules, with only a few attendants, and proceeded together as far as the palace

(a) Gordon, in his *Life of Alexander VI.* (Lond. 1720 *fo.*) not only asserts, on the authority of Tomaso Tomasi, that Cæsar was the perpetrator of this murder, but has given at great length the private conferences between him and the assassins hired for this purpose, with as much accuracy as if he had himself been present on the occasion. (*v. pp.* 153 &c.) In the same manner he has also favoured us with the private conversation between Cæsar and the duke, on their last interview in the streets of Rome: "Cæsar wished him much pleasure, and so they parted."—A mode of writing which reduces history below the level of romance.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. E. 52.

" palace of cardinal Ascanio Sforza, when
 " the duke informed the cardinal, that, before
 " he returned home, he had to pay a visit of
 " pleasure. Dismissing therefore all his at-
 " tendants, excepting his *staffiere*, or footman,
 " and a person in a mask, who had paid him
 " a visit, whilst at supper, and who, during
 " the space of a month, or thereabouts, pre-
 " vious to this time, had called upon him al-
 " most daily at the apostolic palace, he took
 " this person behind him on his mule, and
 " proceeded to the street of the Jews, where
 " he quitted his servant, directing him to re-
 " main there until a certain hour; when, if
 " he did not return, he might repair to the pa-
 " lace. The duke then seated the person in
 " the mask behind him, and rode, I know not
 " whither; but in that night he was assassina-
 " ted, and thrown into the river. The ser-
 " vant, after having been dismissed, was also
 " assaulted and mortally wounded; and al-
 " though he was attended with great care, yet
 " such was his situation, that he could give
 " no intelligible account of what had befallen
 " his master. In the morning, the duke not
 " having returned to the palace, his servants
 " began to be alarmed; and one of them in-
 " formed the pontiff of the evening excursion
 " of his sons, and that the duke had not yet
 " made

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. Et. 22.

" made his appearance. This gave the pope
 " no small anxiety ; but he conjectured that
 " the duke had been attracted by some courtesan
 " to pass the night with her, and, not choosing
 " to quit the house in open day, had waited till
 " the following evening to return home.
 " When, however, the evening arrived, and
 " he found himself disappointed in his ex-
 " pectations, he became deeply afflicted, and
 " began to make inquiries from different per-
 " sons, whom he ordered to attend him for
 " that purpose. Amongst these was a man
 " named Giorgio Schiavoni, who, having dis-
 " charged sometimber from a bark in the river,
 " had remained on board the vessel to watch
 " it; and being interrogated whether he had
 " seen any one thrown into the river, on the
 " night preceding, he replied, that he saw
 " two men on foot, who came down the street,
 " and looked diligently about to observe
 " whether any person was passing. That
 " seeing no one, they returned, and a short
 " time afterwards two others came and look-
 " ed around in the same manner as the
 " former; no person still appearing, they
 " gave a sign to their companions, when a
 " man came, mounted on a white horse, hav-
 " ing behind him a dead body, the head and
 " arms of which hung on one side, and the
 " feet

" feet on the other side of the horse; the
 " two persons on foot supporting the body,
 " to prevent its falling. They thus proceed-
 " ed towards that part, where the filth of the
 " city is usually discharged into the river;
 " and turning the horse with his tail towards
 " the water, the two persons took the dead
 " body by the arms and feet, and with all
 " their strength flung it into the river. The
 " person on horseback then asked if they had
 " thrown it in, to which they replied, *Sigior*,
 " *si*. (yes, Sir.) He then looked towards the
 " river, and, seeing a mantle floating on the
 " stream, he inquired, what it was; they ap-
 " peared blank, to which they answered; it
 " was a mantle; and one of them threw stones
 " upon it, in consequence of which it sunk.
 " The attendants of the pontiff then inquired
 " from Giorgio, why he had not revealed this
 " to the governor of the city; to which he
 " replied, that he had seen in his time a hun-
 " dred dead bodies thrown into the river at
 " the same place, without any inquiry being
 " made respecting them, and that he had not
 " therefore considered it as a matter of any
 " importance. The fishermen and scavengers
 " were then collected and ordered to search
 " the river, where on the following evening
 " they found the body of the duke, with his
 " habit

G. H. M. P.
 W.

S. D. 1408.
 A. M. 22.

CHAB.

N.

A. D. 1497.

A. B. 23.

habit entire, and thirty ducats in his purse. He was pierced with nine wounds, one of which was in his throat, the others in his head, body, and limbs. No sooner was the pontiff informed of the death of his son, and that he had been thrown like filth into the river, than, giving way to his grief, he shut himself up in a chamber and wept bitterly. The cardinal of Segovia, and other attendants on the pope, went to the door, and, after many hours spent in persuasions and exhortations, prevailed upon him to admit them. From the evening of Wednesday, till the following Saturday, the pope took no food; nor did he sleep from Thursday morning till the same hour on the ensuing day. At length however, giving way to the entreaties of his attendants, he began to restrain his sorrow, and to consider the injury which his own health might sustain by the further indulgence of his grief." (a)

From this account, which is in truth the only authentic information that remains respecting the death of the duke, it seems probable

(a) The original is given in the Appendix, No. XLVIII.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. M. 68.

Cæsar Bor-
gin accused
of the mur-
der of his
brother
without suf-
ficient evi-
dence.

bable that he had for some time been carrying on an amorous intrigue, by the intervention of the person who so frequently visited him in disguise; and it may at the same time be concluded, that the evening on which he met with his death, he had been detected by some jealous rival, or injured husband, and had paid with his life the forfeiture of his folly, his presumption, or his guilt. The cardinal appears not to have had the least share in directing the motions of the duke; nor does it appear from Burchard, that he again left the palace, after he had returned home on the evening when the murder was committed. Throughout the whole narrative, there is not the slightest indication that Cæsar had any share in the transaction; and the continuance of the favour of both his father and his mother, after this event, may sufficiently prove to every impartial mind, that he was not even suspected by them as the author of the crime.

The brothers of the Medici, disappointed in their first attempt to regain their native place, now formed a more deliberate and systematic plan for effecting their purpose. Amidst the internal commotions which Florence had experienced since the expulsion of the Medici, the form of its government had undergone

Second at-
tempt of
the Medici
to enter the
city of
Florence.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. M. 22.

undergone frequent changes, until the populace had at length usurped the whole direction, and, under the influence of Savonarola, had united the enthusiasm of liberty with the fanaticism of superstition. The violent extremes to which they proceeded, soon however produced a re-action favourable to their opponents. The inability of a set of artisans, who left their stalls in the habits of their occupations to regulate the concerns of the state, became apparent; the misconduct or negligence of the rulers had been manifested by an alarming scarcity of provisions; and at length, by the exertions of the more respectable inhabitants, the office of *gonfaloniere* was conferred on Bernardo del Nero, a citizen of advanced age and great authority, whose long and friendly intercourse with the family of the Medici, gave reason to suppose that he was well inclined to their interest. The other offices of government were also filled by persons who were supposed to be adverse to the *frateschi*, or followers of Savonarola. Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, Piero communicated his views to the Venetians, who promised to support him in his attempt. The concurrence of Alexander VI. who was highly exasperated against the Florentines, for the protection afforded

to

CHAP.
N.

A. D. 1497.
A. R. 92.

to Savonarola, in his free censures of the abuses of the church, was easily obtained; nor did Lodovico Sforza oppose an enterprize, which, by dividing and weakening the Florentines, might afford him an opportunity of availing himself of their dissensions, to his own advantage. The military commander chosen by Piero de' Medici, on this occasion, was Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who had acquitted great honour in the defence of Bracciano against the arms of the pope. By the credit and exertions of the three brothers, a considerable body of troops was raised, with which d'Alviano, marching only by night, and through the least frequented roads, proceeded to Siena. He was here met by Piero and Giuliano, who had obtained further succours from the inhabitants of Siena, whose aversion to the Florentines led them to promote every measure that was likely to increase their internal commotions, or to weaken their political strength. (a) A communication was secretly opened between the Medici and their friends in Florence. The day was agreed upon when the Medici should, early in the morning, approach the city, and enter the gates; at which time their adherents would be ready to receive them and to second their efforts. In their progress towards Florence

(a) Malavolti, *Storia di Siena*, par. 3. p. 103.

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1497.
A. M. 22.

rence they met with no interruption; and, arriving within a few miles of the city, they took their stations for the night; intending to reach the walls at the hour appointed on the following morning. When, however, they prepared to pursue their route, they found their order deranged, and their progress obstructed, by the effects of an uncommon fall of rain, which had continued throughout the night; and which, by postponing their arrival until a late hour of the day, gave sufficient time to their adversaries to be apprized of their intentions. Vigorous measures were instantly adopted for the defence of the city. Paolo Vitelli, the *condottiero* of the Florentine troops, who had casually arrived there on the preceding evening, secured the gates, and took the command of those who were ready to join in repelling the attack. The partisans of the Medici, some of whom had given sufficient indications of their designs, were seized upon and committed to safe custody; insomuch, that when the Medici arrived under the walls, instead of finding their friends ready to receive them, they discovered that every measure had been taken for resistance. (a)

Being

(a) Nardi informs us, that this attempt was made on the twenty-eighth day of April, 1497. According to the same author,

Being thus disappointed in their expectation of succeeding in their enterprize, by the aid of their accomplices within the city, they deliberated whether they should attack the gates, and endeavour to carry the place by storm; but, after a consultation of four hours, they concluded that their force was not equal to the undertaking. Bending their course therefore towards the papal dominions, d'Alviano and

CHAP.

V.

A. D. 1497.

A. M. 52.

author, Piero de' Medici approached so near to the city walls, as to be seen by the inhabitants; who came in throngs, as to a spectacle, to take a view of him and his associates, but gave no demonstrations of attachment to his cause. He remained there about two hours; and being molested by the small arms from the fortress, was obliged to take shelter behind the wall of one of the fountains in the suburbs of the city. This historian, who was a great admirer of Savonarola, gives a singular instance of the folly of the magistrates; and of his own credulity, in relating, that Girolamo Benivieni, the celebrated Florentine poet, who was himself a warm enthusiast, was dispatched to consult Savonarola on the attempt made by Piero de' Medici, which had occasioned the magistrates great alarm: When Savonarola, who was engaged in reading, raised his head, and said to Benivieni—" *Modica fidei, quare dubitasti?* Know you not that God is with you? Go, and inform the Magistrates from me, that I shall pray to God for the city, and that they may entertain no fears; for Piero de' Medici will come as far as the gates, and will return without having effected any thing." "And so," says the historian, "it proved." *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. ii. p. 37.*

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. Et. 22.

and his military associates, endeavoured to recompense themselves for their disappointment, by plundering the inhabitants; whilst Piero and his brother Giuliano retired in haste to Siena.

Fatal consequences to the partisans of the Medici within the city.

This affair did not, however, terminate without bloodshed. No sooner were the prevailing party within the walls apprized of the retreat of the Medici, and the object of their visit, than they instituted a strict inquiry as to the authors and abettors of the undertaking; in consequence of which, four of the principal citizens, Nicolo Ridolfi, Lorenzo Tornabuoni, Gianozzo Pucci, and Giovanni Cambi, were found to be implicated in the conspiracy and were condemned to death. (a) Bernardo del Nero, the *gonfaloniere*, accused of having been privy to their proceedings without disclosing them, was adjudged to a similar

(a) To Lorenzo Tornabuoni, who was nearly related to the Medici, Politiano had inscribed, in terms of warm commendation, his *Sylva*, entitled *Ambra*; at the same time applauding him for his proficiency in the Greek language, and exhorting him to persevere in the study of it. His untimely death is lamented in a sonnet of Bernardo Accolti, called *L'Unico Aretino*:

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. EL. 52.

milar fate. The persons thus condemned appealed to the *consiglio grande*, or general assembly of the people, in conformity to a late regulation in the constitution, introduced by the *frateschi*; but the promoters of this salutary law were the first to infringe it, and the convenient pretexts of public danger and state necessity were alledged by the adherents of Savonarola as sufficient justifications for carrying the sentence into immediate execution. (a) The inhabitants of Florence, unaccustomed for a long course of years to see the political errors of their fellow-citizens, punished

- “ Io che già fu tesor de la natura,
 “ Con man legate, scinto, e scalzo vegno
 “ A porre il giovin collo al duro legno,
 “ E ricever vil paglia in sepoltura.
 “ Pigli exemplo di me chi s'assicura
 “ In potentia mortal, fortuna, o regno;
 “ Che spesso viene al mondo, al cielo, a sdegno
 “ Chi la felicità sua non misura.
 “ E tu che levi a me gemme, e tesoro,
 “ La consorte, i figlioli, la vita mesta;
 “ Che più poi troverrei un Turco, un Mauro!
 “ Fammi una grazia almen, turba molesta,
 “ A colei, cui tanto amo, in piatto d'auro,
 “ Fa presentar la mia tagliata testa.”

Opere d' Accolti. Ed. Fir. 1514.

- (a) “ E quel condusse in su le vostre mura
 “ Il vostro *gran ribello*, onde ne nacque,
 “ Di cinque cittadini la sepoltura.”

Macchiavel. Decennale, 1.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1497.
A. Et. 62.

punished with such sanguinary severity, derived from this transaction additional motives of dissatisfaction ; and the death of these citizens, who, whether guilty or not of the crime laid to their charge, were condemned contrary to the established forms of law, was soon afterwards avenged by the slaughter of those who had been most active in their destruction.

Paolo Vitelli appointed general of the Florentines.

The siege of Pisa still continued to increase in importance, and to augment the number of the contending parties. In favour of the inhabitants, the duke of Urbino, who had purchased his liberty at the expense of thirty thousand ducats, d'Alviano, his late adversary, Paolo Orsini, Astorre Baglioni, and several other commanders of independent bodies of troops, took the field, having been engaged in the cause principally by the wealth and credit of the Venetians: and the command of the whole was entrusted to the Marquis of Mantua. The ardour of the Florentines kept pace with that of their enemies. They raised a considerable body of troops within the Tuscan territories ; and several experienced commanders joined their standard. Paolo Vitelli, who had already rendered many important services to the republic, was appointed chief general, and the *bastone*, or emblem of command, was delivered to him with great

great solemnity, on a day fixed on for that purpose, by the rules of astrology. On this occasion all the astrologers in the city, who it seems formed a numerous body, were assembled in the great court of the palace; and whilst one, who was in the immediate service of Vitelli, with the rest of his fraternity, waited with their astrological instruments in their hands to observe the *felice punto*, or fortunate moment, Marcello Virgilio, chancellor of the republic, delivered an oration before the magistrates in honour of their general; when, on a sign being given by the person appointed for that purpose, the orator instantly concluded his speech, and Vitelli, on his knees, received from the *gonfaloniere* the emblem of his authority, amidst the sound of trumpets, and the plaudits of the populace. (a) At the same time the *Madonna dell' Imbrunata* was carried through the city in a ceremonial procession; a measure which we are told had never been resorted to at Florence without manifest advantage. (b)

Whilst the adverse parties were thus prepar-
D D ing

(a) Nardi, *Hist. Fior. lib. iii. p. 53.*

(b) Ammirato, *Hist. Fior. v. iii. p. 254.*

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 23.

The Florentines form
an alliance
with Lodovico Sforza.

ing for a decisive contest, the inhabitants of Pisa dispatched a body of troops, consisting of seven hundred horse and one thousand foot, to levy contributions upon, or to plunder the inhabitants of the district of Volterra. Returning with a considerable booty, they were attacked in the valley of S. Regolo by a party of the Florentines under the command of the count Rinuccio, and being thrown into disorder, were on the point of relinquishing their spoil; when a fresh body of horse arriving from Pisa, changed the fortune of the day, and the greater part of the Florentine detachment was either slaughtered or made prisoners. This disaster was severely felt by the Florentines, who now began to apprehend, that, unless they could detach some of their adversaries from the alliance formed against them, they might eventually, not only fail in their attempt to recover the city of Pisa, but might so far exhaust their strength, as to become themselves a prey to the ambition of their enemies. Of these, the most formidable were the Venetians, who were then in the zenith of their power, and had given decisive proofs of their intentions to extend their dominion into the southern provinces of Italy. In this exigency the Florentines had recourse to Lodovico Sforza, who, by
having

Having so frequently changed the object of his political pursuit, afforded them some hopes, that he might not refuse to listen to their representations. Nor were they mistaken in this opinion. Lodovico heard with attention the arguments by which they endeavoured to convince him, that, in affording assistance to the inhabitants of Pisa, he was only acting a subsidiary part to the republic of Venice, which was already too powerful for the other states of Italy, and would by the acquisition of Pisa and its territory become highly formidable even to Lodovico himself. Induced by these and similar motives, and actuated by that instability which characterized the whole of his conduct, Lodovico entered into the proposed treaty; and it was agreed between the parties, that in order to avail themselves of it to greater advantage, no external demonstration of it should immediately appear, but that Lodovico should take advantage of such opportunity of withdrawing his troops, as should be most for the interest of his new allies. (a)

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1494.
A. Et. 25.

From the time of the return of Charles VIII. to his own dominions, the Italian states

D D 2

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. iv. 1. 195.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1498.
A. E. 52.Death of
Charles
VIII. and
accession
of Louis
XII.

had been kept in continual alarm, by rumours of great preparations, said to be making for another and more powerful descent upon the kingdom of Naples; but these apprehensions were suddenly dispelled by the death of that monarch, occasioned by an apoplexy, whilst he was amusing himself by the game of tennis at the castle of Amboise, in the month of April, 1498. The exultation of the Italians on this event was not, however, well-founded, and it is probable that the death of the king, instead of being favourable to their repose, was the occasion of their being exposed to still greater calamities. Charles had little pretensions either in body or mind to the character of a hero. He had made a hazardous attempt, from the consequences of which he had been extricated with difficulty; and there was no great probability that he would have exposed himself to the dangers of a second expedition. The longer continuance of his life would therefore have prevented, or postponed, the hostile efforts of his bolder and more active successor. This successor was Louis, duke of Orleans, cousin to Charles in the fourth degree, who, under the name of Louis XII. assumed the crown without opposition, and immediately after his accession gave a striking proof of his intentions,

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 62.

tions, by taking the additional titles of duke of Milan, and king of the two Sicilies. No sooner had he ascended the throne, than he found a pretext for divorcing his wife, the daughter of Louis XI. who, as he alledged, was so devoid of personal attractions, and of so sickly a constitution, that he had no hopes of progeny from her, and chose in her stead, Anne of Bretagne, the widow of his predecessor, Charles VIII. who is supposed to have been the object of his affection before her former marriage. As the dispensation of the pope was requisite for this union, Alexander VI. was happy in so favourable an opportunity of gratifying the wishes of the new sovereign; but the king was too impatient to wait the return of his ambassador, and presuming on the success of his mission, celebrated the marriage before the necessary formalities for his divorce had been expedited from Rome. This irregularity was, however, readily pardoned, and Cæsar Borgia, who had now divested himself of the rank of cardinal, was deputed to carry to France the dispensation, which was accompanied by the hat of a cardinal for George of Amboise, archbishop of Rouen. The magnificence displayed by Cæsar on this embassy, far exceeded that of royalty itself; and the king remunerated his services, by conferring

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 23.

on him the title of duke of Valentinois, in Dauphiny, and by a grant of the annual sum of twenty thousand livres; to which was also added, the promise of a territorial possession in the Milanese, as soon as the king should have completed the conquest of that country. (a) About the same time, Lucrezia, the daughter of the pontiff, was divorced from her husband, Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, and married to Alfonso of Aragon, a natural son of Alfonso II. late king of Naples.

Ever since the brothers of the Medici had been compelled to quit their native place, the Florentines had exhibited a striking instance of the effects of fanaticism, in debasing both the intellectual and moral powers of the mind. Absurd and blasphemous pretensions to the peculiar favour of heaven, to the power of working miracles, and of predicting future events,

(a) *Guicciard. lib. iv. 1. 207.* On this occasion Cæsar is supposed to have carried with him an immense treasure, and even the horses of his attendants are said to have been shod with silver. His magnificent entrance into Chinon, is described by Brantome. *Mem. v. 227. Ed. Leyde, 1722.* Gordon's *Life of Alex. VI. p. 180.* The divorce of Louis XII. and his marriage-contract with Anne of Bretagne, appear in the collection of Du Mont, *vol. iii. p. 2. pp. 404, 405.*

events, were asserted by Savonarola and his followers, who attempted to establish the reign of Jesus Christ, as it was impiously called, by acts of violence and bloodshed. This sudden depression occasioned, however as sudden a reverse. No sooner were the Florentines convinced of the fraudulent practices of their pretended prophet, than they satiated their resentment by the destruction of the man who had so long been the object of their admiration; after which they committed his body, together with those of two of his associates, to the flames, and scattered their ashes in the river Arno. (a) Respecting the character of Savonarola,

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1498.
A. E. 21.

Death of
Savonarola.

(a) This circumstance is adverted to in the following sonnet, prefixed to an Italian translation in MS. of the Life of Savonarola, from the Latin of Giovan-Francesco Pico, one of his warmest admirers. At the close of the work is a large collection of miracles, attributed to this extraordinary and unfortunate man. The person referred to under the name of *Il Tiranno*, is undoubtedly Piero de' Medici:—

- “ Alma città, che al fuoco, al onda,
 “ Vedesti in preda i tre martiri eletti,
 “ E tra le pene acerbe, e tra dispetti,
 “ Lieti insieme provar morte gioconda,
 “ Godi, che d'ogni ben tosto seconda
 “ Ti mostran di profeti i santi detti;
 “ E tu, che sei regina de' profeti,
 “ Ove il fallo abbondò, la grazia abunda.

“ Il

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 23.

Savonarola, a great diversity of opinions has arisen, as well in his own, as in subsequent times; and whilst some have considered him as a saint and a martyr, others have stigmatized him as an impostor and a demagogue. It requires not, however, any great discernment to perceive, that Savonarola united in himself those exact proportions of knavery, talents, folly, and learning, which, combined with the insanity of superstition, compose the character of a fanatic; the motives and consequences of whose conduct, are perhaps no less obscure and inexplicable to himself, than they are to the rest of mankind.

Vitelli captures the fortress of Vico Pisano.

The secret treaty between Lodovico Sforza and the state of Florence, was much more detrimental to the Venetians, than it would have been if publicly avowed. By his solicitations, several of the Italian leaders, who had engaged in the defence of Pisa, were induced

“ Il tuo ricco, onorato, altiero fiume,
 “ Che si nasconde il gran tesoro in seno,
 “ Di quel sacro divin cenere sparso,
 “ Vedrà morto il *Tiranno*, spento ed arso
 “ Ogn 'infidel, e'l vizio venir meno,
 “ Ed apparir nuova luce, e nuovo lume.”

For the particulars of the catastrophe of Savonarola, see *Life of Lor. de' Medici*, vol. ii. p. 269.

duced to enter into the service of the Florentines ; and the army of the republic, under the command of Paolo Vitelli, at length took the field, with a considerable body of horse, and a powerful train of artillery. Having hastily passed the Arno, Vitelli first bombarded the castle of Buti, where the Venetians attempted to oppose his progress. This place he carried by assault on the second day. Thence he proceeded towards Pisa, and having stationed several bodies of troops in the vicinity, so as to prevent the approach of supplies to the city, he turned his artillery against Vico Pisano, a fortress in the neighbourhood of Pisa, where, having made a breach in the walls, he compelled the garrison to capitulate, and proceeded, by regular approaches, to reduce the city to submission.(a)

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1498.
A. 482. 22.

In the mean time the exiled brothers of the Medici, conceiving that another opportunity was now afforded them for attempting the recovery of Florence, requested the Venetian senate to admit them as associates in the war: representing to them the practicability of sending a body of troops through
the

Third attempt of the Medici to regain their native place.

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital.* lib. iv. 1. 199

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1498.

A. M. 22.

the passes of the Appenines, where they would be joined by the numerous friends of the Medici in that quarter, by whose assistance they might attack the city before it could be provided with the means of defence. The Venetians, at this time closely pressed by Vitelli, willingly accepted the offer; and a large body of infantry was immediately collected, the command of which was given to the duke of Urbino, and Astorre Baglioni, of Perugia. Piero de' Medici, with his brother Giuliano, and his cousin Giulio, having united their troops with those of Bartolommeo d' Alviano, and Carlo Orsino, joined the Venetians in the Val de Lamone, and possessed themselves of the small town of Marra. They soon however found themselves opposed by the Florentines, with whom Lodovico Sforza had now united his arms; but the duke of Urbino pressed forwards, and, having captured the town of Bibbiena, descended into the sterile district of Casentino, through which the Arno continues its course to Florence; and although his operations were retarded no less by the severity of the weather, than by the efforts of his enemies, his approach filled the inhabitants of Florence with consternation. They, therefore, directed their commander Vitelli to fortify, in the best manner he could, the places

places which he had occupied near Pisa, and to proceed immediately to oppose the Medici in Casentino. The courage and experience of the duke of Urbino, and the ardour and rapidity of D'Alviano, were opposed by the vigilance and caution of Vitelli. With inconceivable industry he fortified the passes by which alone the troops of the Medici could approach; he restrained their excursions on every side; he weakened their forces in various skirmishes, and harrassed them by cutting off their supplies. Unable either to procure subsistence, or to change the situation of their troops, the Venetian commissaries, with the brothers of the Medici, secretly deserted their army, and fled for safety to the town of Bibbiena. The soldiers themselves were compelled to undergo that last of all military disgraces, the compulsory surrender of their arms; after which they were permitted by their conquerors to retire, dejected, emaciated, and disgraced, to their own country.(a)

During

(a) It was probably on this disastrous event, that the anguish of Piero de' Medici burst forth in the following sonnet; which, although incorrect and unpolished, may be considered as the genuine expression of his feelings. It is now first printed from the original in the Laurentian library; which appears there in a very rude and imperfect state:

SONNET.

CHAP.
V.

A. D. 1498.
A. Et. 32.

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1400.
A. R. 94.

During the contest respecting the city of Pisa, the Florentines had at various times made overtures to the Venetians and their allies,

SONETTO.

- " Non posso far che gli occhi non m'inacqui,
 " Pensando quel ch'io sono, e quel ch'io ero;
 " D'aver diletto mai più non spero
 " In alcun nido com' in quel ch'io nacqui.
 " Per certo ch'a fortuna troppo spiacqui,
 " E chi'l cognosca credi che'l sia 'l vero;
 " Sofert' ho in pace, e già non mi dispero,
 " Con tutto che con l'ira il viso *imbiacqui*.
 " Io m'assomiglio al legno in alto mare,
 " Che per fortuna l'arbore sta torto,
 " Cangio le vele e sto per annegare.
 " Se non perisco ancor, guignerò in porto.
 " Fortuna sa quel ch'ella sa ben fare,
 " Sana in un punto chi è quasi morto.
 " Io son fuor del mio orto,
 " Dice il proverbio; odi parola adorna
 " Che chi non muor qualehe volta ritorna."

SONNET.

When all my sorrows past I call to mind,
 And what I am, with what I was compare;
 No more allow'd those dear delights to share,
 Alone to thee, my native spot, confin'd,
 Tears dim my eyes. Yet tho' with looks unkind
 Vindictive fortune still pursues me near,
 Firm as I may her injuries I bear;
 In spirit ardent, but with heart resigned.

Like

CHAP.
V.A. D. 1499.
A. E. 94The contest
respecting
Pisa sub-
mitted to
the deci-
sion of Er-
cole duke
of Ferrara.

lies, for compromising the differences to which it had given rise; but the senate, conscious of their superiority, and desirous of reducing the territory of Pisa under their own dominion, had, under various pretexts, refused to listen to any terms of pacification. The disgraceful defeat of their troops in Casentino, and the vigour with which Vitelli carried on the siege of Pisa, at length induced them to relax in their pretensions; and by the intervention of Lodovico Sforza, it was, after long negotiation, agreed, that all differences between the contending parties should be finally decided by Ercole, duke of Ferrara. Having undertaken the office of mediator, and heard the various representations of the different envoys, he published his determination on the sixth day of April, 1499; by which he ordered, that the Venetians should immediately withdraw their troops from the Florentine and Pisan territories. That the Florentines should pay to them one hundred and eighty thousand ducats, by stated payments of fif-

Like some storm-beaten bark, that o'er the deep

Dismantled drives, the sport of every blast,

I speed my way, and hourly wait my doom.

Yet when I trace the many dangers past,

Hope still revives; my destined course I keep,

And trust to fate for happier hours to come.

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V.A. D. 1499.
A. Et. 24.

teen thousand in each year, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and that the city of Pisa should return to its obedience to Florence, under certain restrictions, by which the administration of justice, both criminal and civil, and the public-revenue of the state, were secured to the inhabitants.(a)

His interference ineffectual.

This determination, instead of reconciling the contending parties, was received with disapprobation by all. The Venetians, disappointed in those views of aggrandizement with which they had entered into the war, considered the payment of an annual sum as no alleviation of their vexation and disgrace. The Florentines murmured, that, after the enormous expenses which they had already sustained in the defence of their long-established rights, they should be compelled to reimburse the Venetians to so large an amount; whilst their dominion over the city and territory of Pisa was mutilated and restricted, so that they could not indemnify themselves in that quarter for any part of their expenditure. But above all, the citizens of Pisa exclaimed against the decision of the duke; which, they contended

(a) Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. iv. 1. 220.

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contended would, in effect, deliver them once more into the absolute power of their oppressors, who would soon find a pretext to deprive them of their immunities, and to reduce them to the same disgraceful state of vassalage, under which they had so long laboured. It was to no purpose, that the duke attempted, by an additional decree, to obviate these objections. The continuance of the war was resolved upon; and measures were resorted to for the renewal of hostilities, with greater violence than before. (a)

In some respects, however, the contest took a different aspect. From some indications in the course of the treaty, the citizens of Pisa began to suspect, that the Venetians might at length accommodate their differences with the Florentines, and that their city might be considered as the price of reconciliation; whilst the Venetians, affecting to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the inhabitants, withdrew their troops from the defence of the city, for the purpose, in fact, of securing the possession of such parts of the territory as they might be enabled to occupy. The citizens saw without regret the departure of their doubtful

The inhabitants of Pisa resolve to defend themselves.

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. iv. 1. 220.*

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doubtful allies; and with the aid of a few mercenaries, who had been introduced within the walls by the Venetians, and who agreed to join in their defence, they resolved to maintain their independence to the last extremity.(a) The walls of Pisa were of uncommon strength. The fortresses were well provided and garrisoned. The inhabitants were numerous and courageous; many of them were respectable by their rank and talents; and an unremitting warfare of several years, had habituated them to military fatigues. Above all, their aversion to the government of the Florentines was inextinguishable; and this sentiment alone supplied every deficiency.

Vitelli effects a breach in the walls, but neglects to avail himself of his advantages.

On the other hand the Florentines lost no time in availing themselves of the successes which they had already obtained. Besides a considerable body of horse, their army was now increased to ten thousand foot; with which, and the aid of twenty large pieces of artillery, Vitelli attacked the fortress of Stampace; on which the citizens of Pisa chiefly relied for the defence of the city. The exertions of the besieged to repair the breaches, although both sexes, and all descriptions of persons

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib.* iv. 1. 231.

persons united in the labour, were ineffectual, and an unremitting cannonade of ten days, at length levelled a great part of the walls. Of those engaged in the defence, many were slaughtered; the rest took refuge in the city, and were closely pursued by the Florentine troops, who at that moment might in all probability have possessed themselves of the prize for which they had so long contended. Vitelli, however, either did not perceive, or did not choose to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him for terminating the war. Satisfied with the success of the day, in the acquisition of the fortress, and conceiving that the city would now become an easy prey, he restrained the ardour of the soldiery, and allowed the inhabitants to recover from their panic. But although Vitelli had omitted to storm the city, he persevered with the utmost vigilance in such measures as were most likely to compel the inhabitants to surrender; and, in the various means which he adopted for reducing the place, gave striking proofs of those abilities, by which he had obtained his military reputation. The constant use of artillery, had again effected a breach in the walls; the soldiers, inflamed with the hopes of plunder, were earnest for the attack; the Florentine commissaries remonstrated with Vitelli on the

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injudicious and dangerous delays which he manifested in all his proceedings, and a time was at length fixed upon for storming the place, which it was agreed should be the twenty-fourth day of August. But, whilst the fruits of his labours were thus ripening, and seemed only to court his hand, a sudden blight deprived Vitelli of his expected prize. The low and marshy district in the vicinity of Pisa, had combined with the slaughter of the soldiery, to occasion a pestilential distemper in the Florentine camp, which in the course of a few days, made so rapid a progress, that at the time appointed, a sufficient number of troops could not be collected to proceed to the attack. Fresh levies of soldiers were poured in by the Florentines; but the destructive malignity of the disorder destroyed them more rapidly than they could be replaced.(a) Smitten, like the Greeks before Troy, by an invisible hand, the Florentine troops were compelled to abandon their enterprise, in order to secure

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. iv. 1. 235. Muratori, *Annali d' Ital.* ix. 597. Macchiavelli also alludes to this circumstance in his first Decennale:

“Lungo sarebbe narrar tutti i torti,
 “Tutti gl' inganni corsi in quell' assedio,
 “E tutti i cittadin, per febbre morti.”

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secure a retreat, before the further progress of the disease should so far debilitate them, as to render them an easy conquest to the exasperated and vindictive inhabitants. Vitelli therefore embarked his artillery on the Arno, for the purpose of conveying it to Leghorn; but by an unfortunate fatality, the greater part of it fell into the hands of the enemy. Quitting with the remainder of his troops the contagious precincts of Pisa, he proceeded through the Via Marrana towards Cascina. On his arrival at this place, he was met by a deputation from the citizens of Florence, by whom he was made a prisoner and conducted to that city, where he was put to the torture, for the purpose of inducing him to confess that he had conducted himself with treachery towards the republic. Among other charges against him, it was alledged, that he had held an interview with the Medici in the war of Casentino, and that he had intentionally suffered them to escape, although he had it in his power to have sent them prisoners to Florence, to have received the due reward of their rebellion against their country. His conduct before Pisa was, however, a still more grievous cause of offence; and although no acknowledgment of either guilt or error could be obtained from him, he was ordered to be decapitated;

Vitelli
brought to
Florence
and decapitated.

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pitated; and the sentence was on the same night carried into effect.(a) His brother Vitellozzo, although at that time labouring under sickness, had the good fortune to effect his escape, and fled to Pisa, with as many of his followers as he could prevail upon to accompany him. He was received with great exultation by the inhabitants, who by their own resolution, and a fortunate concurrence of events, were at length freed from their adversaries, and once more indulged themselves in the hope of establishing the ancient independence of their republic.

(a) Nerli, *Commentarii*. iv. p. 84. The unhappy fate of Vitelli is commemorated by Ant. Fr. Ranieri, in the following not inelegant lines:

“ Urbis ut ingratae scelus, et victricia Pauli

“ Audiit immitti colla resecta manu,

“ Scipiadam major, Tua quid benefacta, Vitelli,

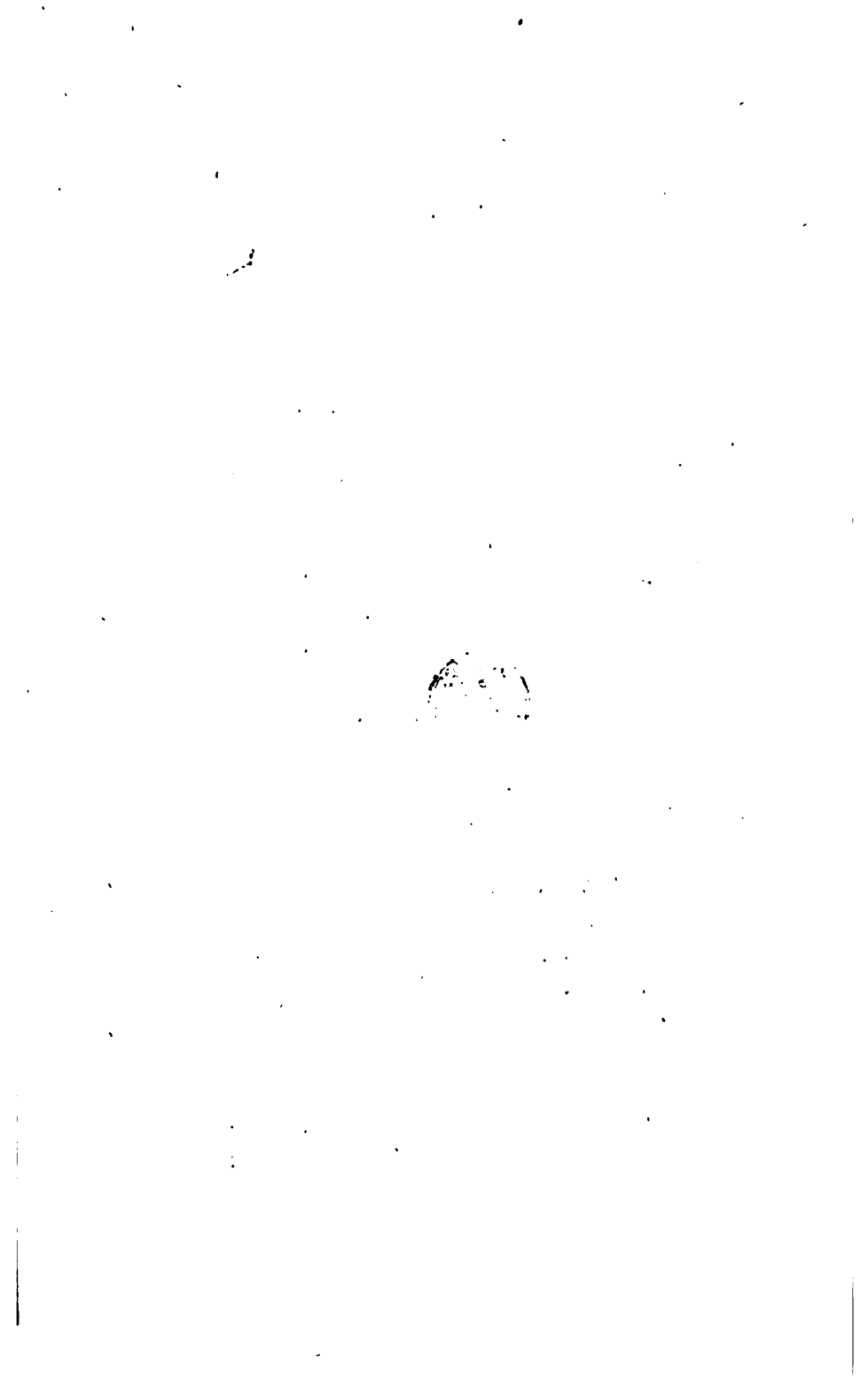
“ Quid valere mea? ah, dixit et ingemuit.

Nardi informs us, that, although no charge but that of disobedience could be proved against Vitelli, before his execution, many of his letters were afterwards discovered which manifested his treachery, *Hist. Fior. lib. iii. p. 61*. This mode of executing a person first, and obtaining the proofs of his guilt afterwards, is not greatly to be commended, and affords too much reason to conjecture, that the documents were fabricated for the purpose of justifying an act of odious and illegal severity.

CHAP. VI.

1499—1503.

LOUIS XII. resolves to attempt the conquest of Milan and Naples—Forms an alliance with Alexander VI. and the Venetians—The cardinal de' Medici quits Italy—Travels through various parts of Europe—Louis XII. possesses himself of the duchy of Milan—Casar Borgia attacks the cities of Romagna—Imprisonment and death of Lodovico Sforza—The cardinal de' Medici arrives at Rome—The Florentines again attack Pisa—Casar Borgia perseveres in his hostilities against the Italian states—The Medici attempt a fourth time to effect their return to Florence—Casar Borgia threatens that city—Treacherous combination between Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Spain—Federigo king of Naples is deprived of his dominions—He retires to France—Gonsalvo betrays the young duke of Calabria—Casar Borgia captures the states of Piombino Camerino and Urbino—Pietro Soderini preserves Florence from the attacks of Borgia—Is appointed Gonfaloniere for life—Alliance between Casar Borgia and Louis XII.—The Italian nobles oppose the proceedings of Borgia—Several of them treacherously put to death by him at Sinigaglia—He seizes on their territories—Death of Alexander VI.—Remarks on his character and conduct.



CHAP. VI.

WHILST Italy continued to be thus agitated by internal commotions, another storm was gathering beyond the Alps, which soon burst with additional violence on that unhappy country. The attack of Charles VIII. upon the kingdom of Naples was the effect of a puerile ambition ; but Louis XII. was a courageous and a politic prince, and the personal experience which he had acquired during the expedition of Charles VIII. in which he had himself borne a principal part, rendered him a still more dangerous enemy. After having openly asserted his pretensions to the crown of Naples and the states of Milan, he began

to

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Louis XII.
resolves to
attempt the
conquest of
Milan and
Naples.

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alliance
with Alex-
ander VI.
and the
republic of
Venice.

to negotiate with the other powers of Europe, and in particular with the Italian governments, for their assistance or neutrality in the approaching contest.

In gaining over Alexander VI. to his interests he found but little difficulty. That ambitious pontiff, incessantly aiming at the exaltation of his family, and desirous, beyond measure, of establishing his authority in the kingdom of Naples, where he had already obtained considerable influence, had proposed to Federigo the marriage of Cæsar Borgia with one of his daughters, whose dowry he expected should be the extensive principality of Tarentum. This union was, however, rejected in the most decisive terms by Federigo; who, although he was not ignorant that his refusal would draw down upon him the resentment of the pontiff, chose rather to abide its consequences, than assent to an alliance, which he considered as still more dangerous. Thus disappointed in the hopes of aggrandizement which he had so warmly cherished from this quarter, Alexander was prepared for any propositions from the French monarch, which might enable him to gratify his resentment against the king of Naples. A reciprocation of favours had already commenced between

Louis

Louis XII. and the pope, by which both parties had been highly gratified; and this connexion was speedily strengthened by the marriage of Cæsar Borgia with Carlotta, daughter of John d'Albret, king of Navarre, and a near relation to Louis XII. and by the promotion of the brother of that princess to the purple. The marriage took place on the twelfth day of May, 1499; and from this period Alexander considered himself as devoted to the interests of France, and was ready to employ both his spiritual and temporal arms in her service. (a) The Venetians, disgusted with

(a) When the news of the marriage of Cæsar Borgia, and of his being honoured by Louis XII. with the order of St. Michael, was received at Rome, great rejoicings took place; which, if we may believe Burchard, were conducted in a manner highly discreditable to the pontiff and the apostolic see. "Feria quinta vigesima tertia Maii, venit cursor
 " ex Francia, qui nunciavit Sanctissimo Domino nostro,
 " Cæsarem Valentinum Ducem filium suum, olim cardina-
 " lem, contraxisse matrimonium cum magnifica Domina de
 " Allebretto, a die præsentis mensis; et illud Dominica
 " duodecima ejusdem consummasse. * * * * Ve-
 " nit alius annuncians quòd in die pentecostes nona decima
 " hujus, Rex Franciæ assumpsit Ducem prædictum in con-
 " fratrem confraternitatis Sancti Michaelis, quæ est regia
 " et magni honoris. Fuerant propterea ex mandato Ponti-
 " ficis facti multi ignes per urbem in signum lætitiæ; sed
 " in

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with the irresolute and treacherous conduct of Lodovico Sforza, had already been induced, by the promise of being put into possession of the city of Cremona, and the district of Ghiaradadda, to enter into a league with Louis XII. to assist him in the recovery of Milan, in which a power was reserved to Alexander VI. to become a party.(a) Of this privilege the pope soon afterwards availed himself; having first stipulated, among other articles, that the states of Imola, Forli, Faenza, and Pesaro, then under the government of their respective lords, should be conquered by the arms of the allies, and united under the sole dominion of Cæsar Borgia.

These portentous transactions were not regarded with an inattentive eye by the cardinal de' Medici. He had now attempted, in conjunction with his brothers, at three different times, to effect the restoration of his family

" in magnum dedecus et verecundiam Sanctissimi Domini nostri, et ejus sanctæ sedis." *Burchard Diar. v. Appendix to Gordon's Life of Alexander VI.*

(a) This treaty, formed at Blois, and bearing date the fifteenth day of April, 1499, is given in the *Corps Diplomatique* of Dumont. v. iii. par. ii. p. 406.

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A. Et. 24.

The cardinal de' Medici quits Italy, and travels through various parts of Europe.

family to their native place. The ill fortune or misconduct of Piero had defeated all their endeavours, and every new attempt had only served to increase the violence of their enemies, and to bar the gates of Florence more firmly against them. During five years he had been compelled to avail himself successively of the protection of the ancient friends of his family in different parts of Italy; but as the hope of his restoration to Florence diminished, he began to be regarded as an exile and a fugitive, and in the approaching disturbances of Italy, it was not easy to determine in what part he might find a secure asylum. The city of Rome, which ought to have afforded him a safe and honourable residence, was rendered irksome to him by the vices, and dangerous by the animosity of the pontiff; whilst the Florentines, in order to secure themselves during the approaching commotions, had acceded to the league with France, and thereby cut off from the Medici all hopes of deriving assistance from that power on which they had hitherto relied. Impelled by these circumstances, and perhaps also actuated by the laudable desire of visiting foreign countries, the cardinal determined to quit Italy, and to pass some portion of his time in traversing

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versing the principal kingdoms of Europe, till events might arise more favourable to his views.(a)

This design he communicated to his cousin Giulio de' Medici, and it was agreed to form a party of twelve friends; a number which they considered sufficiently large for their mutual security in the common incidents of a journey, and too small to afford any cause of alarm. Discarding, therefore, the insignia of their rank, and equipping themselves in an uniform manner, they passed through the states of Venice, and visited most of the principal cities of Germany; assuming in turn the command of their troop, and partaking of all the amusements afforded by continual change of place, and the various manners of the inhabitants. On their arrival at Ulm, their singular appearance occasioned their being detained by the magistrates; but, on their disclosing their quality and purpose, they were sent under a guard to the emperor Maximilian, who received the cardinal with that respect and attention, to which, from the celebrity

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratti d'huomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 66.*

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celebrity of his ancestors, and his high rank in the church, he was so well entitled. Far from interrupting their progress, Maximilian highly commended the magnanimity of the cardinal in bearing his adverse fortune with patience; and his judgment and prudence, in applying to the purposes of useful information, that portion of his time, of which he could not now dispose to better advantage. Besides furnishing him with an honourable passport through the German states, Maximilian gave him letters to his son Philip, then governor of the low countries; recommending the cardinal and his companions to his protection and favour. After having passed a considerable time in Germany, the associated friends proceeded to Flanders; where they were received by Philip, not only with hospitality, but with magnificence. The cardinal then intended to have taken shipping, and proceeded to England; but the danger of the voyage deterred his friends from the undertaking; and, at their entreaties, he relinquished his design.^(a)
They

(a) "Dal qual finalmente partendo, à Terrovana su' l' oceano si condusse; con pensiero di veder Inghilterra, se da compagni non fosse stato dissuaso; paurosi oltre modo de' flutti di quel vasto e profondissimo mare."
Ammir. Ritratti. in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 66.

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A. E. 54.

They, therefore, bent their course towards France. On their arrival at Rouen they were again seized upon, and detained in custody; and, although the cardinal, and his cousin Giulio, made an immediate discovery of their rank, and represented the object of their journey to be totally unconnected with political concerns; yet, in the state of hostility that had then commenced between the kings of France and of Naples, there appeared to be too much ground for suspicion, to admit of their being speedily released; nor was it until letters were obtained from Piero de' Medici, then in the French camp at Milan, that they were enabled to procure their discharge. Having again obtained their liberty, they proceeded through France, visiting every place deserving of notice, and examining whatever was remarkable, till they arrived at Marseilles. After a short stay, they determined to proceed by sea immediately to Rome. The winds being, however, unfavourable, they were compelled to coast the Riviera of Genoa, where having been driven on shore, they thought it advisable to relinquish their voyage, and to proceed by land to Savona. On their arrival at this place, they met with the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who had fled thither to avoid

avoid the resentment of Alexander VI. A common enmity to that profligate pontiff, and a similarity of misfortunes, rendered their meeting interesting; and three refugees sat at the same table, all of whom were afterwards elevated to the highest dignity in the christian world. The two consins of the Medici gave an account of the objects which they had met with on their journey; and related the difficulties which they had surmounted by land, and the dangers which they had encountered by sea. The cardinal della Rovere recapitulated in his turn the events which had taken place in Italy since their departure, and in which they were so deeply interested. From Savona the cardinal de' Medici repaired to Genoa, where for some time he took up his residence with his sister, Madalena, the wife of Francesco Gibò, who had fixed upon that city as the place of his permanent abode.(a)

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VI.

A. D. 1499.
A. M. 56.

During the absence of the cardinal from Rome, a very considerable change had taken place in the political state of Italy. The French army under the command of d'Aubigny had crossed the Alps; and, forming a junction

Louis XII.
possesses
himself of
the state of
Milan.

(a) *Ammir. Ritratti, Opusc. vol. iii. p. 66.*

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junction with the troops of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, who had obtained the rank of marshal of France, occupied several of the principal towns in the Milanese, and had at length captured and sacked the capital. It was not without difficulty that Lodovico Sforza effected his escape into the Tyrol. Louis XII. informed of the success of his arms, hastened to Milan, which he entered as sovereign, on the sixth day of October, 1499, amidst the acclamations of the people; who, wearied with the tyranny of the usurper, regarded the French as the avengers of his crimes, and the assertors of their rights.(a) On this occasion, the rightful heir to the supreme authority fell into the hands of Louis XII. who tore him from his mother Isabella, and sent him into a monastery in France; whilst Isabella herself, having witnessed the destruction of her husband and children at Milan, returned to Naples to behold that of her whole family. The arms of the French and their allies in Italy having thus far been successful, the conquering parties began to divide the spoil. The states of Milan and of Genoa were received into the allegiance of the king of France.(a)

The

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, vol. ix. p. 600.

(b) v. Macchiavelli, *lib. del Principe*, p. 6. ed. 1550.

The city and district of Cremona were surrendered up to the Venetians, as had been previously agreed on; and it only remained to gratify the wishes of Alexander, and his son Cæsar Borgia, by obtaining for the latter the dominion of the several states in Romagna, which had been promised to him as a recompence for the concurrence of the pope in the league with France.

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VI.

A. D. 1499.
A. M. 94.

Cæsar Borgia, now no longer called the cardinal of Valenza, but duke of Valentinois, having obtained a considerable body of French troops, and united them with the papal forces, proceeded to attack the city of Imola, which he soon compelled to capitulate. The fortress of Forlì was defended with great courage by Caterina Sforza, the mother of the young prince Ottaviano Riario; but all resistance to so superior a force being ineffectual, she was at length obliged to surrender; and being made a prisoner, was sent to the castle of S. Angelo, at Rome. She was, however, soon afterwards liberated in consequence of the representations of Ivo d'Allegri, who commanded the French troops in the service of Cæsar Borgia, and who was induced, not less from admiration of her courage, than compassion for her sex, to interest himself in her behalf.

Cæsar Borgia attacks the cities of Romagna.

CHAP.
VI.A. D. 1500.
A. Æt. 25.

The further progress of the united armies, was prevented by new disturbances in the Milanese, in consequence of which, d'Allegri returned with the troops under his command into that district; and Cæsar, hastening to Rome, entered the city on the twenty-sixth day of February, 1500, with extraordinary pomp.^(a) A carnival was soon afterwards celebrated, in which he displayed his magnificence at an incredible expense; and, as a reward for his achievements, the pope presented him with the golden consecrated rose, and dignified him with the title of *Gonfaloniere* of the holy Roman church.

Imprisonment and death of Lodovico Sforza.

The period was now fast approaching in which Lodovico Sforza, the author of so many calamities to his country, and to mankind, was to meet with the retribution that awaited his misdeeds. After having in vain attempted to procure the assistance of the emperor elect Maximilian, he resorted to the mercenary aid of the Swiss, from whom he engaged an army of eight thousand men. With this force, and such additional troops as his own exertions, and

(a) The particulars of this splendid procession are fully given by Burchard. v. *Appendix*, No. XLIX.

and those of his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, could raise, he suddenly descended into Italy, and passing by the lake of Como, possessed himself of the adjacent city. The commencement of his undertaking was prosperous. The cruelties and enormities practised by the French, had already convinced the people of the error into which they had been led, by a too favourable opinion of their conquerors. The cities of Milan opened their gates to their former sovereign; whose government, though severe, appeared to them kind and lenient, in comparison with the tyranny of the French. Louis XII. was, however, unwilling to relinquish his conquests without further efforts. Fresh troops were poured over the Alps; the principal part of which consisted also of Swiss mercenaries, who, to the number of ten thousand, engaged to oppose their own countrymen; and who, joined to six thousand French troops, under the command of the duke de la Tremouille, again threatened the destruction of the house of Sforza. The contest between the two armies was concentrated at the city of Novara, from which Lodovico had expelled the French; who still, however kept possession of the fortress. Whilst the event of the war yet remained uncertain, that treachery,

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A. D. 1500.

A. E. 25.

of which Lodovico had so often set the example, was now employed to his own destruction. A secret intercourse had already taken place between the Swiss troops in his service and the French commander. At the moment when he expected to avail himself of their assistance, they suddenly deserted his standard, alledging that they would not oppose their countrymen in battle; and, with the privacy and concurrence of the French, took the direct road towards their own country.(a) In attempting to effect his escape, Lodovico was, on the 10th day of April, 1500, made prisoner, with several of his nobility and friends.(b) His own crimes afforded a pretext to Louis XII. for treating him with a degree of cruelty, which, in fact, only served to gratify the resentment of the king, for the opposition given to his pretensions, and which changed

(a) The treacherous conduct of the Swiss on this occasion was notorious, and is commemorated in the works of several of the writers of the time. *v. Appendix, No. L.*

(b) On the same day that Sforza was made prisoner, the poet Marullus lost his life, in attempting to pass the river Cecina, in the district of Volterra. His untimely fate was a subject of regret to several of his learned friends. *v. Appendix, No. LI.*

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VLA. D. 1500.
A. E. 25.

changed the remembrance of the misconduct of Lodovico into compassion for his misfortunes. Conveyed to the castle of Loches, in the duchy of Berri,^(a) he was there inclosed in a dark and lonely chamber; where, daily furnished with the means of life, but deprived of all that could render life tolerable, he languished in solitude and misery the remainder of his existence; a space of ten years. Scarcely does the history of mankind exhibit a spectacle of equal commiseration. Pain and privation, racks and chains, may agonize the body; but these are successfully resisted by the reaction of a mind conscious of its rectitude, whilst death, a ministering angel, is ever at hand to ward off the last extremes of suffering. This was not the fate of Lodovico: with sufficient understanding to be aware of his errors, with sufficient sensibility to be convinced of his guilt, the sufferings of his mind were probably yet more acute than those of his body, and the human ruin was complete.

Such were the events that had taken place
in

(a) Guicciardini, *lib.* iv. 1. p. 252. *Murat. Annali*, vol. ix. p. 605.

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A. D. 1500.

A. Et. 25.

The cardinal de' Medici returns to Rome.

in Italy, during the absence of the cardinal de' Medici, and which speedily prepared the way to still more important alterations. From Genoa the cardinal hastened to Rome, in the expectation, that amidst the changes and commotions to which the pretensions of Louis XII. and the ambition of Cæsar Borgia incessantly gave rise, an opportunity might yet occur of restoring the Medici to their former authority in the city of Florence. On his arrival at Rome, the moderation of his conduct, and the respectability of his life, seemed to have effected a change in the disposition of the pope; who, from this time, appears to have laid aside his ill-will, and to have treated the cardinal with the respect and attention due to his rank. But, although this alteration in the conduct of the pope was sufficiently observable, it was not supposed, by those who had the best opportunities of forming a just opinion of these very opposite characters, that Alexander was sincere in his professions of esteem for one whom he had so lately marked as an object of his displeasure. On the contrary it was conjectured, that the crafty pontiff was only desirous of avoiding the imputation of having such a man as the cardinal for his enemy, and of screening himself from the odium which he justly deserved, by inducing

ing a belief, that he lived with him on terms of intimacy and confidence.(a)

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A. D. 1500.

A. Et. 25.

The Florentines again attack the city of Pisa, but are repulsed by the inhabitants.

The award of the duke of Ferrara for terminating the war respecting the city of Pisa, having been rendered ineffectual by the dissent of all the parties; the Florentines had begun to take measures for repairing their former disasters; and, as they had concurred with the Venetians and the pope, in the league with France, they conceived that they were also entitled to derive some advantage from the successes of the allies, towards which they had contributed by sending to the aid of the king a considerable body of troops.(b) These pretensions

(a) "Cum enim vitam moresque tuos ab ineunte ætate
" considero, cum castissimè superatam adolescentiam, juven-
" tutem actam gravissimè atque sanctissimè, cum præterea
" intueor quantâ animi fortitudine atque constantiâ pauper-
" tatem, diuturnumque exilium toleraveris; quâ prudentiâ,
" errore fortasse aliquo, gravem tibi adversarium Alexan-
" drum pontificem maximum, ed deduxeris facilitate tuâ et
" suavissimis moribus, ut non modo odium dissimulare vel-
" let, sed etiam ad declinandam invidiam, se tibi cuperet
" haberi amicissimum," &c. *Greg. Cortesii Ep. ad Leon.*
x. inter ejusd. ep. fam. p. 249. Ven. 1573.

(b) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 254.* The frequent introduction of the "siege of Pisa," may perhaps remind the

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pretensions were urged with great eagerness; insomuch, that the cardinal of Rohan, who governed the Milanese states on behalf of Louis XII. was at length prevailed upon to furnish the Florentines with a body of six hundred horse, and eight thousand Swiss soldiers, accompanied by a formidable train of artillery, and a supply of ammunition, for the purpose of reducing the citizens of Pisa to obedience. (a) With this aid, and a considerable additional body of Italian mercenaries, the Florentines again assaulted that unfortunate city; which the inhabitants had fortified to the utmost of their power. The besieged did not, however, wholly rely either on the strength of their ramparts, or on their own courage; but had recourse to artifice and negotiation for mitigating the violence, or obviating

the reader of the sarcasm of Boocalini, where he pretends that the Laconic senate condemned an unfortunate author, who had been convicted of using three words, where two were sufficient, to read once over the War of Pisa by Guicciardini; but that the culprit, after having with great agony laboured through the first page, requested his judges would send him to the galleys for life, rather than compel him to go through with his labour. *Boccalin. Ragguag.* vi. Guicciardini enjoys his reputation and the critic his jest.

(a) *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 55, &c.*

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A. E. 26.

viating the effects of the threatened attack. To this end, they dispatched their envoys to the French governors in Milan and Genoa, as well as to Beaumont, the commander of the French troops destined for the assault, proposing to deliver up the city to the French king, provided he would receive them as his subjects, and afford them his protection.*(a)* To this offer Ravestan, the governor of Genoa, expressed his assent; but Beaumont still persevered in the attack; and, having at length succeeded in demolishing a part of the walls, he ordered his troops to commence the assault. An ill-disciplined and tumultuous body of horse and foot rushed towards the city; but although the walls were destroyed, an immense trench, which the industry of the inhabitants had formed within them, with an additional rampart, unexpectedly opposed their further progress.*(b)* In one moment the daring assailants were converted into astonished spectators, and the remainder of the day was passed without any effort to surmount the difficulty. The offers made to the king of France now began to produce their effects. Many of the

(a) Guicciard. lib. v. vol. ii. p. 256.

(b) Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 56.

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VIA. D. 1500.
A. Et. 23.

the French officers were favourable to the cause of the inhabitants. An amicable intercourse soon took place between them, and they who had been repulsed as enemies, were now admitted as friends. By this communication, and the long delay to which it gave rise, the discipline of the besieging army was wholly destroyed. A general mutiny took place, in which the soldiery seized upon the supplies intended for the siege, sacked the camp, and took prisoner the Florentine commissary, Luca d'Albizi, on a pretext that the arrears of their pay had not been duly discharged. No sooner was the besieging army dispersed, than the troops in the city sallied out, and proceeding to Librafatta, a garrison-town on the Tuscan frontier, with great intrepidity scaled the walls, and possessed themselves of the place; which was of the utmost importance to their safety, as it opened to them all the country towards Lucca.(a) Nor did the misfortunes of the Florentines terminate here. Louis XII. exasperated beyond measure at the dishonour which the French arms had sustained in this enterprize, accused the Florentines of having rendered it abortive by their own parsimony and

(a) Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 257.

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VI.A. D. 1501.
A. Et. 22.

and imprudence. The Florentines were earnest to justify themselves; for which purpose they dispatched two ambassadors to the king; one of whom was the celebrated Nicolo Machiavelli; (a) but their representations were of little avail; and it was only by the payment of a certain sum, for the support, as the king pretended, of the Swiss troops on their return to Milan, that they were again received into favour. The resentment of the monarch being thus pacified, he once more proposed to afford them his assistance. But the Florentines, suspecting, perhaps, that he had himself designs upon the city of Pisa, or being already so far exhausted, as to be unable to bear the expenses which a new attempt must inevitably occasion, thought proper to decline his further aid.

In the mean time Cæsar Borgia persevered in his attempt to subdue the cities of Romagna. By the assistance of the French troops, he soon possessed himself of Pesaro, the patrimony of Giovanni Sforza; and of Rimini, then subject to Pandolfo Malatesti. The conquest of Faenza was an undertaking of greater difficulty.

Cæsar Borgia perseveres in his attempt on the Italian states.

(a) Nardi, *Hist. Fior.* lib. iv. p. 67.

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VIA. D. 1501.
A. XL. 26.

difficulty. Such was the attachment of the inhabitants to their young sovereign, Astorre Manfredi, then only seventeen years of age, that the utmost efforts of the assailants were unable to reduce the place until the following year, when the city surrendered to the French and papal arms. Even then the possession was only obtained under the sanction of honourable capitulation, by which the young prince, who had already distinguished himself by his military talents, was to hold a respectable rank in the service of Cæsar Borgia. No sooner, however, had that implacable tyrant secured his person, than he sent him, accompanied by his natural brother, to Rome; where they were both put to death. (a) He then turned his arms against Bologna, where he had already a secret communication with some of the principal citizens, whom he had seduced to espouse his cause; but Giovanni Bentivoglio, who then held the supreme authority, having discovered the intrigue, seized upon several of the conspirators, who were immediately slaughtered by his adherents; and, having diligently attended to the defence of the city, prevented, for a time, the further progress

(a) Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 262.

progress of the usurper, who had intended to constitute Bologna the capital of his new government; of which the pope had already granted him the investiture, by the title of duke of Romagna.(a)

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Whilst Cæsar Borgia, thus checked in his career, was hesitating against whom he should next lead the formidable body of troops, of which he had obtained the command, the Medici conceived that a favourable opportunity was once more afforded them, of regaining their former authority in the city of Florence. The want of ability and energy in the government of that place became daily more conspicuous. The city, exhausted of its wealth, was distracted by tumults; whilst the Tuscan territories were disgraced by dissensions and feuds among the principal families. In this situation of affairs, Piero d' Medici, encouraged by the Venetians, and supported by the Orsini, and by Vitellozzo Vitelli, whose animosity to the Florentines on account of the death of his brother Paolo was unextinguishable, hastened to the camp of Cæsar Borgia, and endeavoured to convince him of the advantages

The Medici attempt a fourth time to effect their return to Florence.

(a) Jovii, vita Leonis x. lib. i. p. 24.

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A. Æt. 26.

vantages which he would derive from marching his troops into the Florentine territory, and effecting a change in the government.(a) At the same time Giuliano d' Medici suddenly presented himself at the court of Louis XII. who was then highly displeased with the Florentines, and, by the promise of a large subsidy for the support of the expedition against Naples, and the assurances of a constant devotion to the French government, obtained from the king, the promise of his support in the intended enterprize.(b) But Cæsar Borgia, although he received Piero de' Medici with apparant kindness, and even promised to promote his cause, had no object less at heart than the restoration of the Medici to Florence ;(c) having

(a) " Dux Valentinus fecit mirabilia magna solus in Flaminia, jactaturque vulgo, et rumor increbrescit, quod ubi Faventiam, Bononiamque expugnaverit, velit ferro aperire iter *Petro Medici*, ut hic plusquam civis (facinus magnum) tantæ civitati imperitet." *Aug. Vespucci Ep. ad Nic. Macch. ap. Band. Coll. Vet. Mon. p. 52.*

(b) *Guicciard. lib. v. 1. 263.*

(c) Guicciardini, on the authority of particular and private information, relates, that Cæsar had long borne a secret enmity against Piero de' Medici, on account of a circumstance which had occurred whilst Cæsar was pursuing his studies at Pisa, before his father was raised to the pontificate.

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VI.A. D. 1501.
A. Et. 60.

having already formed designs more conducive to his own interest. He considered, however, that, in the deranged state of the affairs of Florence, he could not fail, either of occupying some desirable part of their territory, or of obtaining such terms as might be favourable to the prosecution of his favourite project, the establishment of the duchy of Romagna. Nor is it improbable that he had indulged the hope of availing himself of some fortunate concurrence of circumstances to subjugate to his own authority the whole of the Tuscan state.

About the beginning of the month of May, 1501, Cæsar descended with his army, consisting of seven thousand foot, and eight hundred horse,^(a) from Romagna, into the district

tificate. Having occasion to resort to the assistance of Piero, on behalf of one of his friends, who was implicated in some criminal transaction, he had hastened from Pisa to Florence; but after waiting some hours for an audience, whilst Piero was engaged in business or amusement, he had returned, not only without effecting his purpose, but without having obtained an interview. Trivial as this incident may appear, it must be remembered, that the resentment of wounded pride is of all others the most violent, and that the soul of Borgia knew not how to forgive. *v. Guicciard. lib. v. l. 264.*

^(a) *Guicciard. lib. v. l. 264.*

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Cæsar Bor-
gia turns
his arms
against Flo-
rence, but
is ordered
to desist by
Alexander
VI.

trict of Mugello, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of Barberino. He was here joined by a body of troops from Bologna, which had been sent to his assistance by Bentivoglio, in pursuance of a treaty concluded between them.(a) From Barberino, Cæsar dispatched his envoys to Florence, to acquaint the citizens with the purpose of his approach, and to prescribe to them the terms on which alone he would withdraw his troops. Of these proposals, as preserved by Nardi,(b) the principal were, that the Florentines should pay him a considerable stipend, as their *Condottiero*; that they should not interfere with him in his meditated attack upon the other states of Italy, and particularly that of Piombino, then under the protection of Florence; that they should deliver up to him six of the principal citizens as hostages, to be named by Vitellozzo; and lastly, that they should restore Piero de' Medici to his former honours, or should otherwise make such an alteration in the government, as might secure on their part the performance of the proposed treaty. No sooner were

(a) Nardi, *Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 71.*

(b) Nardi, *Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 72.*

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A. 21. 28.

were these propositions heard in the city, than they excited the highest indignation; inso-much, that the magistrates, whilst deliberating on the measures to be adopted, could scarcely be secured from the violence of the people. But, whilst the negotiation was depending, and the result was yet uncertain, Cæsar received peremptory orders from the pope, to abstain from any further proceedings against the Florentines. In consequence of this mandate, he unwillingly withdrew his troops; not, however, without obtaining the appointment of *Condottiero* to the republic, with an annual income of thirty-six thousand ducats, and a stipulation that he should not be obliged to serve in person. (a) The motives that induced Alexander VI. thus to interfere in the designs of Cæsar Borgia, arose from the representations of Louis XII. who, although he might have consented to the restoration of the family of Medici to their former authority in Florence, was too well apprized of the character of Alexander VI. and his son, to permit them to obtain such an ascendancy in that city, as must have resulted from their being the instruments of such restoration.

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storation.

(a) Guicciard. lib. v. 1. 265.

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storation. Nor was it difficult to perceive, that an influence so extensive as the family of Borgia would then have acquired, might, in case of a rupture with the pope, have formed an effectual barrier against the projected invasion of the kingdom of Naples; on which account Louis had given positive directions to his general d'Aubigny, that in case Cæsar did not, on the first representation to him, evacuate the Florentine dominions, he should employ all his forces to compel him to retreat.

Treacherous conduct of Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Spain toward Federigo, king of Naples.

Whilst Cæsar Borgia was thus industriously attempting by fraud or by force, to establish an independent authority in Italy, another event took place, which surpassed his crimes, in treachery and injustice, and in the extent of the theatre on which it was transacted, no less than he was himself surpassed in rank and importance by the perpetrators. Federigo, king of Naples, had commenced his reign with the affection of his people; and his disposition and talents were well calculated to promote their happiness. Even those who had revolted, or quitted the country, under the reigns of Ferdinand I. and Alfonso II. had returned with confidence to their allegiance; and the princes of Salerno and Bisignano were among

among the first to salute him as their sovereign. (a) Federigo, on his part, lost no opportunity of confirming the favourable opinion already entertained of him. Instead of persecuting such of the nobility as had espoused the cause of the French, he restored to them their domains and fortresses. He patronized and liberally rewarded the many eminent scholars, by whom the city of Naples was distinguished, and who had been injured or exiled during the late commotions; and, as an indication of the tenor of conduct which he meant to adopt, he struck a medal; with a device, alluding to the better order of things which he meant to establish. (b) But, although the reign of Federigo commenced under the happiest auspices, it was not destined to be of long duration; and whilst he supposed that every day gave additional security to his authority, the kings of France and of Spain had, by a secret treaty, di-

G G 2

vided

(a) *Giannone, Storia di Napoli. vol. iii. p. 391.*

(b) This device represented a book in the flames, surmounted by the crown of Naples, with the motto, *RECDANT VETERA*. The life, character, and conduct of Federigo, are particularly noticed by Sanazzaro, in a Latin elegy, wholly devoted to that purpose; and which merits perusal, no less as an interesting historical monument, than as a beautiful poem. *v. Sanaz. Eleg. lib. iii. El. 1.*

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vided between them his dominions, and formed a scheme for carrying their purpose into effect. This plan, which has served as a model on subsequent occasions, was, that the king of France should assert his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, as representative of the house of Anjou; the infallible consequence of which would be, that Federigo would resort or assistance to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, who should send over a considerable military force, under the pretext of opposing the French; but that, as soon as the latter arrived, the Spanish troops should unite their arms with their pretended adversaries, expel the family of Aragon, and divide the kingdom between the two sovereigns. By this treaty the king of France was to possess the city of Naples, the provinces called Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzo, with a moiety of the income arising from the pastures of Apulia, and was to assume, in addition to his titles of king of France and duke of Milan, that of king of Naples and Jerusalem. The districts of Calabria and Apulia, with the other moiety of the income, were allotted to the king of Spain, who was to style himself duke of those provinces. This treaty, which bears date the eleventh day of November, 1500, is yet extant;

tant;(a) and, if the moral sense of mankind be not extinguished by the subsequent repetition of such enormities, will consign the memory of these royal plunderers to merited execration.

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Preliminaries being thus adjusted, Louis XII. began openly to prepare for the intended attack, the direction of which he confided to his general d'Aubigny; who commenced his expedition, at the head of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Federigo was no sooner apprized of this measure than he dispatched information of it to Gonsalvo, the Spanish general, who had withdrawn his troops into Sicily, on the pretence that he might be in readiness, in case his assistance should again be required in the kingdom of Naples. On the arrival of Gonsalvo, the king confided to his care the fortified places in Calabria, which the Spanish general pretended were necessary for the security of his army. Federigo had also raised a considerable body of troops, which had been reinforced by those of the Colonna; with which, when joined by the Spanish

Louis XII.
attacks the
territory of
Naples.

(a) *Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 444.*

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A. Et. 68.

Spanish army, he expected to be enabled to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of the French. All Italy was in suspense, and a contest far more bloody than had of late occurred, was expected to plunge that country into new calamities. A short time, however, removed all apprehensions on this head. No sooner had the French troops made their appearance in the Roman territories, than the envoys of the allied monarchs met at Rome; where, entering together into the consistory, they notified to the pope and cardinals, the treaty already formed, and the consequent division of the kingdom of Naples. The convenient pretext of the promotion of the christian faith, by a war against the infidels, for the preparations necessary to which, it was asserted, that kingdom afforded the most convenient station, was the mask under which their *most catholic* and *most christian* majesties affected to hide from the world the deformity of their crime.

The stipulations thus agreed upon, met with no opposition from Alexander VI. who had now an opportunity of gratifying the resentment which he had so long harboured against the king of Naples. On the twenty-fifth

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A. D. 1501.

A. Et. 66.

fifth day of June, 1501, a pontifical bull deprived Federigo of his dominions, and divided them between the two monarchs, in the shares before mentioned.(a) The intelligence of this alliance, and of its consequences, struck Federigo with terror; but Gonsalvo, pretending to discredit it, continued to give him the most positive assurances of his assistance. No sooner, however, had the French army entered the Neapolitan territory, than he avowed his instructions, and immediately sent off from Naples to Spain, in vessels already provided for that purpose, the two dowager queens, one of whom was the sister, and the other the niece of the Spanish king. Federigo persevered in the defence of his rights; and intrusting the command of the city of Naples to Prospero Colonna, determined to make his first resistance at Capua.(b) D'Aubigny had, however, already possessed himself of the adjacent country; the king was obliged to return with his

(a) The bull of Alexander VI. by which he divides the kingdom of Naples between the French and Spanish monarchs, is published by Rousset, in his supplement to the *Corps Diplomatique* of Du Mont. vol. iii. p. 1.

(b) To this period we may apply the sonnet of Cariteo:

“ Mentre che d'Aragona il sommo honore

“ Tra Galli e Cimbri il suo destrier raggira.”

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A. D. 1501.

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his army from Aversa to Naples; and Capua, being taken by assault on the twenty-fifth day of July, was sacked by the French with circumstances of peculiar cruelty and unexampled licentiousness. (a) The loss of Capua was speedily followed by the capitulation of the city of Naples, which purchased an exemption from plunder by the payment of seventy thousand ducats to the invaders. Federigo withdrew himself into the *Castel-nuovo*, which he refused to surrender till he had effected a treaty with d'Aubigny, by which he was to be allowed to retire to the Island of Ischia, and to retain it for six months, and was also to be at liberty to remove from the *Castel-nuovo* and *Castel dell' Uovo* whatever he might think proper, excepting the artillery. In negotiating for his own safety, he did not forget that of his subjects. A general amnesty was to be granted of all transactions since Charles VIII. had quitted the city of Naples; and the cardinals of Aragon and Colonna were to enjoy their ecclesiastical revenues arising from that kingdom. In the commencement of this contest, Federigo had sent his infant son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, to Tarentum, under the care of the count of Potenza. The rest

(a) Guicciard. lib. v. 1. 268.

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rest of the wretched family of Aragon were now assembled on the barren rock of Ischia. This family consisted of his queen Isabella and a numerous train of children ; his sister Beatrice, the widow of the great Mattia Corvino, king of Hungary, and his niece, Isabella, the widow of Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan ; who, already deprived of her sovereign rank, her husband, and her son, now saw the completion of her ruin in that of her royal relations.(a)

This

(a) The poet Cariteo has paid the last tribute of duty and affection to his unfortunate sovereign, in the second *Cantico* of his *Metamorphosi*, in which he introduces the city of Naples, the lovely Parthenope, lamenting her lost glory and happiness, and contrasting them with the disgraceful state of servitude to which she was reduced by her conquerors :

“ Libera fui gran tempo; hor son captiva ;

“ In man di feri monstri, horrendi e diri.”

A considerable part of the poem is devoted to the commemoration of the female part of the family ; four of whom, then living, had sat upon a regal throne, and the fifth had enjoyed sovereign rank as duchess of Milan :

“ Ove siete, O Joanne, ambe regine,

“ D'Ausonia, e d'Aragonia ambe ornamento,

“ Per virtute e bellezze ambe divine ?

“ Ove è Beatrice; ov' il grande incremento

“ Del valor d' Aragon ? di re sorella,

“ Figlia, e consorte ? e di lor gloria aumento ?

“ Hor

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VI.A. D. 1501.
A. M. 96.Retires to
France.

This deeply meditated act of treachery, to which Federigo had fallen a victim, whilst it excited in him the highest indignation against his perfidious relative Ferdinand of Spain, inspired him with a disgust of the cares and the dangers of royalty, and induced him to seek for repose in a less enviable station. Having therefore obtained a passport from Louis XII. he left his family at Ischia, under the care of the marquis del Vasto, and proceeding directly to France, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the king, so far as to afford him the means of fulfilling his wishes. No longer regarding

“ Hor per te cresce il duolo, alma Isabella ;

“ Di Re seconda madre, e di virtute,

“ E di Re guida, orientale stella.

* * *

“ Verace ardente amor, costante e fiso,

“ Vuol ch' in l' altra Isabella sempre io peasi,

“ Che i thesauri del ciel porta nel viso !

“ Duchessa di Milan ; di cui gli accensi

“ Rai di bellezza efflagran sì nel volto,

“ Che sveglian di ciascun gli ignavi sensi.” &c.

Boccalini has selected the example of this last accomplished lady as the most unfortunate on historical record—“ unica “ nelle disgrazie”—on which account he represents her, in his imaginary Parnassus, as reduced to the necessity of supporting herself by selling matches through the streets. *Ragguag. di Parnaso. 75.*

garding him as a rival, but as a suppliant, Louis acceded to his request, and an annual income of thirty thousand ducats, with the title of duke of Anjou, secured to him opulence and repose during the remainder of his days. Historians have accused him of pusillanimity in thus relinquishing for an inferior title his pretensions to a crown, which, in the dissensions that soon afterwards arose between the two successful monarchs, he might in all probability have recovered; but Federigo had sufficiently experienced the treachery and ingratitude of mankind; and, having in vain attempted to promote the happiness of others, he perhaps chose a wise part in securing his own.

CHAP.
VL

A. D. 1501.
A. Et. 56.

The regrets of the muses, whom he had so generously protected during his prosperity, followed him to his retreat. Sanazzaro, who accompanied him on his expedition into France, seems to consider the events that then took place, to be, as indeed they afterwards proved, the final destruction of the Neapolitan branch of the house of Aragon.(a)

The

(a) " O fatum infelix! O sors malefida! quid illic
" Egimus? O tristi mersa carina loco!"

Sannaz. El. lib. iii. El. 2.

Federigo died at Tours in the year 1504, at 52 years of age.

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VI.

The last place in Naples that resisted the arms of the Spanish monarch, was the city of Tarentum

A. D. 1501.
A. 54. 38.

age. The Neapolitan historians feelingly regret the loss of a line of monarchs, who had for a long-course of years rendered Naples the seat of magnificence, opulence, and learning; and of whom the last was the most deserving, and the most unfortunate. "Principe cotanto saggio," says Giannone, (*lib. xxix. cap. iv.*) "e di molte lettere adorno, che a lui, non men che a Ferdinando suo padre, deve Napoli il ristoramento delle discipline, e delle buone lettere." Sanazzaro on this occasion, sold the remainder of his hereditary possessions to relieve the necessities of his sovereign, and remained with him to the time of his death; having taken his farewell of his native country in the following beautiful verses;

- "Pamthenope mihi culta, vale, blandissima Siren;
- "Atque horti valeant, Hesperidesque tuæ;
- "Mergillina, vale, nostri memor; et mea flentis
- "Serta cape, heu domini munera avara tui.
- "Maternæ salvete umbræ; salvete, paternæ;
- "Accipite et vestris turea dona focis.
- "Neve nega optatos, virgo Sebethias, amnes;
- "Absentique tuas det mihi somnus aquas.
- "Det fesso æstivas umbras sopor; et levis aura
- "Fluminaque ipsa suo lene sonent strepitu;
- "Exilium nam sponte sequor. Fors ipsa favebit
- "Fortibus hæc solita est sæpe et adesse viris.
- "Et mihi sunt comites musæ; sunt numina vatium;
- "Et mens læta suis gaudet ab auspiciis,
- "Blanditurque animo constans sententia; quamvis
- "Exilii meritum sit satis ipsa fides."

Epigr. lib. iii. Ep. 7. Ed. Com.

Tarentum, whither the duke of Calabria had been sent by his father, as to a place of security. The command of the castle was entrusted to Leonardo Napolitano, a knight of Rhodes; but he, being reduced to extremities by Gonsalvo, agreed, with the consent of the count of Potenza, to surrender the city and fortress, if succour did not arrive in the space of four months; Gonsalvo binding himself by the solemnity of an oath, on the holy sacrament, that the duke of Calabria should be at liberty to proceed whithersoever he thought proper. On the surrender of Tarentum, the duke expressed his intention to follow his father into France; but Gonsalvo, disregarding his oath, sent him to Ferdinand of Spain, in which country he continued during the life of that monarch, in a sort of honourable captivity.(a)

If

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A. D. 1501.
A. Et. 26.

Gonsalvo
betrays the
young duke
of Calabria.

(a) On the accession of Charles V. to the Spanish monarchy, the prince obtained the particular favour of that monarch, by refusing to place himself at the head of the Spanish insurgents in the year 1522. His wife, Mencía de Mendoza, dying without children, Charles gave him, in a second marriage, Germana de Foix, niece to Louis XII. of France, and widow of Ferdinand of Aragon; a rich bride, but not likely to bear a progeny. On the death of this prince, which happened in the year 1550, this branch of the family of Aragon became extinct; his two younger brothers and two sisters having all died without offspring.

Before

CHAP.
VLA. D. 1501.
A. Et. 36.Cæsar Bor-
giacaptures
the states
of Piombi-
no, Urbino,
and Came-
rino.

If the descent of Louis XII. into Italy, interrupted the progress of Cæsar Borgia in effecting the conquest of Romagna, the part which he had taken, in uniting his arms with those of the French on this occasion, enabled him to return to his former undertaking with a greater prospect of success. The first object towards which he directed his attention, was the city of Piombino, then held in subjection by Jacopo d'Appiano. To the attack of this place he dispatched two of his generals, Vitellozzo Vitelli, and Gian-Paolo Baglione. Jacopo did not, however, wait their arrival; but, leaving a garrison in the place, precipitately fled into France, expecting by his representations to Louis XII. to prevail upon that monarch to prohibit the further progress of the papal arms. His endeavours were, however, ineffectual, and Piombino soon afterwards capitulated to the invaders. The territory of Urbino, consisting of four cities and thirty fortified

Before the marriage of Federigo, king of Naples, with his queen Isabella, he had been married to Anna, daughter of Amadeus, duke of Savoy, by whom he left a daughter, Carlotta, and from her the dukes of Tremouille in France have claimed their descent; in consequence of which, they have in much later times asserted their rights to the crown of Naples. v. *Giannone, Storia di Napoli, lib. xxix. cap. iv. v. 3. p. 406.*

fortified places, next attracted the ambitious views of the conqueror; but the duke Guidubaldo, instead of affording any pretext for hostilities against him, had frequently fought the battles of the church. His courage was indisputable; and his amiable qualities, and excellent endowments, had secured the affections of his people. Despairing of effecting his purpose by an open attack, Cæsar, on this occasion, resorted to treachery. He marched, at the head of a powerful army, to Nocera, avowing his intention of attacking the state of Camerino. Thence he dispatched an embassy to the duke of Urbino, requesting the assistance of his artillery, and as many soldiers as he could furnish. His request was instantly complied with; but no sooner had Cæsar deprived the duke of the means of defence, than he turned his own arms against him; and, possessing himself of Cagli, proceeded by rapid marches towards Urbino. Alarmed, not only for his dominions but for his life, Guidubaldo, with his nephew Francesco Maria della Rovere, hastily quitted the city in disguise, and, though vigilantly pursued, had the good fortune to escape to Mantua, where he met with his wife Isabella; who, after having accompanied Lucretia Borgia to Ferrara, on the recent celebration of her nuptials with

Alfonso

CHAP.
VI.

A. D. 1501.
A. Et. 66.

CHAP.
VI.A. D. 1508.
A. Et. 27.

Alfonso d'Este, son of the duke, had passed to Mantua to visit the marquis her brother. Having thus obtained the duchy of Urbino, Cæsar attacked the states of Camerino; and having, under pretext of a treaty, gotten into his power Giulio da Varano, lord of that country, with two of his sons, he treacherously put them to death, and rendered himself master of their dominions. (a)

Pietro Soderini preserves Florence from the attacks of Borgia, and is appointed gon-faloniere for life.

The success which attended Cæsar Borgia in all his undertakings, had attracted to his standard many of the most eminent *condottieri*, or military adventurers of Italy. Among these were Vitellozzo Vitelli lord of Città di Castello, Francesco Orsino duke of Gravina, Pandolfo Petrucci lord of Siena, Paolo Orsino, Gian-Paolo Baglioni, and Oliverotto da Fermo. By the assistance of these leaders, and the exertion of his own unrivalled talents in the art of dissimulation, he still continued to extend his conquests. Encouraged by the number of his adherents, and the favour of the king of France, he again turned his views towards the territories of Florence, which were suddenly assailed on all sides by his arms.

The

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*. vol. x. p. 9.

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VI.A. D. 1502.
A. M. 27.

The city of Cortona, the towns of Anghieri and Borgo San-Sepolcro, and even the city of Arezzo, surrendered to the invaders. As the difficulties of the Florentines increased, the hopes of the Medici revived; and uniting their power with their relations and auxiliaries, the Orsini, they joined the forces of Borgia, whose rapid progress left no reason to doubt that the Florentines would soon be obliged to surrender up their city at the discretion of the conquerors. In this alarming emergency the principal inhabitants met together, to deliberate on the most effectual measures for averting the dangers with which they were threatened; when Pietro Soderini had the good sense to point out the only expedient that could preserve them from ruin. After expatiating on the deplorable state of the republic, and the impracticability of obtaining assistance from any other quarter, he recommended, that an embassy should be dispatched to Louis XII. to request his interference on their behalf, in pursuance of a treaty lately formed between him and the Florentines.^(a) He did yet more; he took upon himself the office of ambassador,

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H H

and,

(a) The treaty for protecting the republic, is dated the nineteenth day of November, 1501, at Blois.—*v. Lunig*.
1. 1142.

CHAP.
VLA. D. 1502.
A. Et. 27.

and, hastening to the king, laid before him such cogent reasons for granting his aid to the republic, as induced that monarch to comply with his request.(a) Messengers were immediately dispatched to the pope and his son, to admonish them against further proceedings; and, lest these should be ineffectual, a considerable body of troops was directed to enter the Tuscan territories, not only to repel those in the service of Borgia, then under the command of Vitellozzo, but to obtain the restitution of the places which had submitted to his arms.(b) Measures so decisive, from a quarter so powerful, admitted of no opposition.

Vitellozzo

(a) *Ammirato, Hist. Fior. lib. xxvii. 3. 267. Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 81.*

(b) These events are commemorated by Machiavelli, in his *Decennale* :

“ E perchè Valentin havea fatto alto
 “ Con le sue genti a Nocera, e quindi preso
 “ Il ducato d’Urbino, sol con un salto,
 “ Stavi co’l cuer, e con l’anima sospeso,
 “ Che co’l Vitello e’ non si raccozzassi,
 “ E con quel fusse a’ vostri danni sceso,
 “ Quando a l’un comandò che si fermassi
 “ Pe’ vostri prieghi il Re di San Dionigi
 “ A l’altro furo i suoi disegni cassi.”

Decen. lib. i. 65.

Vitellozzo and the Florentine exiles reluctantly drew off their troops; Soderini was regarded as the saviour of the republic, and was soon afterwards honoured with a more extensive and durable authority than any citizen had before enjoyed, under the novel title of *Gonfaloniere for Life*.

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VI.A. D. 1492.
A. E. 77.

As the hopes of Cæsar Borgia were principally founded on the favour of Louis XII. he was greatly alarmed at this unexpected opposition to his projects; and hastening in person to the king at Asti,^(a) he endeavoured to remove the unfavourable suspicions entertained respecting him, by representing the prompt obedience which he had paid to his orders, imputing the attempt upon Florence wholly to the animosity of Vitellozzo and the Orsini against that republic, and to the desire of the Medici to be again admitted as chiefs of the city. Satisfied by his protestations, and desirous of conciliating the favour of the pope, in the disputes which had already arisen respecting the partition of the kingdom of Naples, Louis not only received him into favour, but

Alliance be-
tween
Cæsar Bor-
gia and
Louis XII.

H H 2

formed

(a) "E'l Duca in Asti si fu presentato

"Per giustificare se col re Luigi."

CHAP.
VI.A. D. 1502.
A. E. 27.

formed with him a treaty of alliance, by which the parties stipulated to afford to each other mutual assistance; and it was particularly agreed, that Cæsar should be furnished with a troop of French horse to enable him to enforce his claims against the feudatories of the church.(a)

Formidable
opposition
to the pro-
ceedings of
argia.

The event of this interview occasioned great alarm to many of the principal commanders, who were engaged in the service of Borgia, and who held the supreme authority in different cities of Italy. A diet was convoked in Perugia, at which the cardinal, and Paolo Orsini, the duke of Gravina, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Gianpaolo Baglioni, Oliverotto da Fermo, and others, were present; when the conduct of Cæsar Borgia was fully discussed, and it was resolved, that decisive measures should be taken for restraining his further progress.(b) As the intelligence of this alliance became

(a) *Guicciard. lib. v. 1. 283.*

(b) Machiavelli, the constant apologist of Cæsar Borgia, thus characterizes the members of this diet, in his first Decennale:

“ E rivolti fra lor questi serpenti

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VL

A. D. 1502.

A. Æt. 27.

became public, the different states which had before submitted to the dominion of Borgia, began to oppose his authority ; and in particular the inhabitants of Urbino, having seized upon the fortress of that place, disclaimed their dependence on him, and recalled their former prince. Deprived at once of the assistance of his principal commanders, who had suddenly avowed themselves his enemies, and of the greater part of his troops, Borgia retreated for safety to Imola, where his hopes were unexpectedly revived by an embassy from the Florentines ; who, having been solicited to unite in the league against him, had not only rejected the proposal, but dispatched to him their secretary, Niccolò Machiavelli, to assure him of their assistance against his revolted commanders. The joint efforts of these two accomplished proficients in mischief, could not fail of producing some extraordinary result, and accordingly a plan was adopted for the

“ Di velen pien, cominciare à ghermirsi,

“ E con li ugnoni a straciarsi e co' denti.

“ E mal potendo il Valentin fuggirsi,

“ Gli bisognò per ischifare il rischio,

“ Con lo scudo di Francia ricoprirsi.”

Dec. lib. i. p. 66,

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VI.A. D. 1502.
A. Et. 37.

the destruction of their adversaries, to which, in the annals of treachery, it will be difficult to find a parallel. This transaction the Florentine historian has thought deserving of a particular narrative, in which he affects not to conceal the features of guilt under the slightest covering of decency. (a)

Several of
the Italian
nobles
treache-
rously put
to death by
Borgia at
Sinigaglia.

From this narrative we learn, that the troops of Borgia, having been attacked by those of the Vitelli and Orsini, near Fossombrone, were put to the rout; in consequence of which, Borgia, perceiving no possibility of resisting his enemies by force, endeavoured to engage them in a negotiation. As he was a most accomplished dissembler, he represented to them, that the efforts which he had made in subjugating the different states of Romagna, were intended no less for their interest than his own, and that, provided they would allow him the title of sovereign, the sovereignty itself should remain at their direction. These blandishments were not without their effect, and Paolo Orsino was deputed by his colleagues to carry on the treaty; but Cæsar, instead of

(a) *Descrizione del modo tenuto dal Duca Valentino nello ammazzare Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, il Signor Pagolo ed il duca di Gravina Orsini.*

of relaxing in his preparations, continued by every possible means, to increase the number of his adherents, distributing his new levies, both of horse and foot, in separate detachments throughout Romagna, so as to avoid all cause of suspicion. The arrival of five hundred horsemen from the king of France was a most seasonable reinforcement; but although he might now have contended with his adversaries in the field, he judged it more expedient to proceed in the execution of his plan, and to continue the negotiation already entered into. The terms of amity were at length agreed upon; in consequence of which, he received his former commanders again into his employ, and agreed to pay to each of them four thousand ducats in advance. He also engaged not to molest Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had joined in the league; nor to require the personal attendance of his new allies, in case it might not be agreeable to them. On their part they promised to restore to him the duchy of Urbino, with all the other places which they had occupied; to serve him in all his expeditions; and not to engage in any undertaking, or afford their assistance to any other power, without his assent.

On the conclusion of this league the duke of Urbino again deserted his capital, and took shelter

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A. Æt. 37.

shelter at Venice, having first dismantled the fortresses within his states, to the end that they might not be garrisoned by his enemies, for the purpose of keeping in subjection a people ardently devoted to the cause of their sovereign.

This arrangement being completed, and his own troops, with his French auxiliaries distributed throughout Romagna, Cæsar left Imola and proceeded to Cesena; where he met the envoys of his new allies, and deliberated with them towards what part of Italy they should next turn their arms. No decisive measures being concluded on, Olivetto de Firmo was deputed by these depredators to propose to Borgia another attack upon the Tuscan states; or, if he should not approve of this project, to offer their concurrence in attacking the city of Sinigaglia, then held by Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew of the duke of Urbino. With the former of these proposals Borgia refused to comply, alleging, that the Florentines were his friends; but the attack on Sinigaglia met with his entire approbation. That place was accordingly soon invested and captured; but the fortress held out for some time, the commander being unwilling to surrender it to any one but to Borgia himself;

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A. Æt. 37.

himself; for which reason his allies entreated that he would hasten to the place. This circumstance seemed to Cæsar to offer a favourable opportunity for executing his purpose, without giving rise to suspicion; his visit to Sinigaglia appearing to be at the request of his allies, and not from his own choice. Still further to avoid all cause of offence, he dismissed his French auxiliaries. Reserving only one hundred horse, under the command of one of his relations, and quitting Cesena about the end of December, he proceeded to Fano, where he employed all his artifice and sagacity to prevail upon the Vitelli and the Orsini to wait his arrival in Sinigaglia.

Vitellozzo, who had learnt from the fate of his brother the danger of confiding in those to whom he had once given cause of offence, was extremely averse to this interview; but, being prevailed upon by Paolo Orsino, who had engaged more deeply in the interests of Borgia, he at length consented to wait his approach.

On the thirtieth of December, 1502, the day fixed upon for his departure from Fano, Cæsar communicated his project to eight of his principal adherents, in which number were
Don

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Don Michele and Monsignor d'Euna, with instructions to this effect ; that as soon as the meeting should take place betwixt himself and Vitellozzo, Paolo Orsino, the duke of Gravina, and Oliverotto, who would come out to meet and conduct him into the city, they should divide their number into pairs, and that each pair should single out his man, and take their stations respectively on each side of him, occupying his attention till they reached Sinigaglia, when they were not to quit them, till they had delivered them into safe custody at the apartments prepared for the duke. At the same time he ordered his whole force, which consisted of ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to take their station at day-break on the banks of the Metauro, a river about five miles from Fano, where they should wait his further orders. All things being thus arranged, Borgia advanced with the whole force towards Sinigaglia, where Vitellozzo Vitelli, Paolo Orsino, and the duke of Gravina, mounted upon mules, and accompanied by a few horse, came forwards to meet him. Vitellozzo was unarmed, and appeared so deeply dejected, as to excite the surprise of those who were acquainted with his courage and past achievements. We are also told, that when he left his dependants to come to Sinigaglia for the purpose

purpose of meeting the duke, he took a kind of last farewell of them; recommending to his chief officers the fortunes of his house, and admonishing his nephews not to remember the calamities of their family, but the courage of their ancestors. Arriving in the presence of Borgia, they respectfully saluted him, and were received by him with apparent kindness, whilst the persons to whom the charge of them had been confided, took the stations assigned to them. Borgia, perceiving that they were not accompanied by Oliverotto, who had remained with his troops at Sinigaglia, where he had drawn them up in the square, made a signal to Don Michele, to whom the care of Oliverotto had been committed, to take measures for preventing his escape. In consequence of which, that officer rode forwards, and coming up with Oliverotto, told him it was not a proper time to keep his men from their quarters, as they would, perhaps, be occupied by the soldiers of Borgia, and he therefore advised him to dismiss them, and to accompany him to meet the general. These directions having been complied with, Borgia arrived, and accosted Oliverotto, who approached and paid his respects to him. Proceeding thus to Sinigaglia, they dismounted at the lodgings of Borgia, and were led into a secret apartment, where

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A. D. 1502.
A. E. 67.

Handwritten notes:
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...

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A. Æt. 27.

where the unsuspecting victims were all made prisoners.

Borgia immediately mounted his horse, and gave orders for disarming the troops of Oliverotto and the Orsini. Those of Oliverotto were all plundered; but those of the Orsini and Vitelli, being at a distance, and having received information of the ruin of their leaders, had time to collect themselves together, and in a firm body effected their escape, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies, and of the surrounding inhabitants. The soldiers of Borgia, not satisfied with the plunder of those of Oliverotto, began to sack the city; and, if he had not repressed their licentiousness, by putting many of them to death, they would have effected their purpose. Night approaching, and the tumult having subsided, he thought it expedient to dispatch Vitellozzo and Oliverotto; and, bringing them together into the same place, he caused them to be strangled.^(a)

On

(a) Ant. Franc. Raineri has commemorated the death of Vitellozzo in a copy of Latin verses, the substance of which he has compressed into the two following lines:

“ Non mare me, non Mars, sæva aut mors perdidit; at me
 Perdidit omnibus his Borgius asperior.”

Carm. illust. Pœt. Ital. viii. 59.

And

On this occasion, neither of them, we are told, expressed themselves in a manner worthy of their past lives; for Vitellozzo entreated that the pope might be applied to for a plenary indulgence of his sins, and Oliverotto, weeping, attributed all his offences against Borgia to the influence of Vitellozzo. Paolo Orsino, and the duke of Gravina, were suffered to live until Cæsar received information that the pope had secured the persons of the cardinal Orsino, the archbishop of Florence, and Jacopo di Santa Croce, after which, on the eighteenth day of January, they were put to death by Borgia, in the same manner as their unfortunate associates. (a) 1503. Such

And the same event has also afforded a subject for reprobation to Paulo Giovio; who justly denominates Borgia

“ ——— ravidus, barbarus, impotens,
“ Humani generis pernicies, atque hominum lues.”

Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. v. 433.

(a) The cardinal Giambattista Orsino was detained by the pope in the Torre Borgia till the month of February following, when he died by poison, as it is supposed, administered to him by the direction of the pope; who caused him to be carried to the grave uncovered, that it might appear he had died a natural death. *Muratori, Annali x. 13.* Besides the individuals of the family of Orsini, mentioned by Machiavelli, the pope also seized upon Carlo Orsino, and the Abate d'Alviano, brother of the celebrated general Bartolommeo d'Alviano; but they were soon afterwards liberated. *Nardi, Hist. Fior. p. 88.*

CHAP.
VI.A. D. 1503.
A. Æt. 28.He seizes
on their
territories.

Such is the account given of this extraordinary transaction by the Florentine secretary; a transaction upon which he has forborne to make the slightest observation, either of praise or of blame, and which he seems to have considered merely as an instance of superior talents and successful policy. (a) Having thus freed

(a) The presumption that Machiavelli had a principal part in the contrivance of this most iniquitous stratagem, is indeed extremely strong. The Florentines dreaded and abhorred both the Orsini and the Vitelli; the former as relations and adherents to the Medici, the latter for exerting themselves to avenge the unmerited fate of Paolo Vitelli, so cruelly put to death at Florence. Borgia had retreated to Imola, where Machiavelli found him in a state of great dejection, "*pieno di paura*." No sooner, however, did the Florentine envoy appear, than he took fresh courage, and the plan for the destruction of their adversaries seems to have been agreed on. It is certain, also, that Machiavelli accompanied Cæsar to Sinigaglia, and was present at the perpetration of the deed; after which Borgia remarked to him, that "he knew the government of Florence would be gratified by this transaction." *v. Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 85.* The Florentine writers acknowledge, that the intelligence of it gave great satisfaction in the city, "*Restò allora la città, morti costoro, molto sicura da quelli suoi nemici, che tanto e si spesso la travagliavano.*" *Nerli, Commentar. lib. v. p. 94.* The Florentines also sent Jacopo Salviati as their ambassador, to congratulate Cæsar on the success of his treachery, *Razzi, Vita di Pietro Soderini. p. 7. Padova, 1737.*

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VI.A. D. 1503.
A. Æt. 62.

freed himself from all apprehensions from his doubtful allies, Cæsar lost no time in proceeding to Città di Castello, of which place he took possession; the remainder of the family of Vitelli having betaken themselves to flight. He then entered Perugia, which had been in like manner abandoned by Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who had, however, the good fortune to escape from the snare laid for him at Sinigaglia. Siena was the next place towards which he bent his course; but whilst he was hovering round the city, and had already compelled Pandolfo Petrucci, who then enjoyed the chief authority, to quit the place, he received intelligence from the pope, that the duke of Bracciano, with others of the Orsini family, as well as the nobles of the Savelli, had again taken up arms. He was therefore obliged to quit Siena; and, hastening into the papal territories, again reduced them to obedience. This was the period of the highest power of Cæsar Borgia. In full possession of the extensive territory of Romagna, he regarded with eager avidity the domains of Pisa and of Siena; nor were the citizens of Florence without constant apprehensions from his increasing power; whilst the pope, equally earnest in the aggrandizement of his son, had proposed

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A. Et. 22.

proposed to the college of cardinals to bestow upon him the title of king of Romagna and Umbria.

Death of
Alexander
VI.

But whilst every circumstance thus seemed to conspire in his favour, an unexpected reverse of fortune suddenly overturned the fabric of his greatness. This was the death of Alexander VI. which happened on the eighteenth day of August, 1503. And this misfortune was increased by the effects of a dangerous malady, under which Cæsar himself at the same time laboured, and which prevented him from taking those measures for securing his authority, which he might otherwise have adopted. The historians of this period, eager to represent both Alexander and his son in the most odious colours, have asserted, that the death of the one, and the disorder of the other, were occasioned by poison, prepared by them for the destruction of several cardinals, of whose wealth they intended to possess themselves; but which, by the error of an attendant, was incautiously administered to themselves. That the horrid and detestable practice of destroying persons by poison, was frequently resorted to in these profligate times, is certain; and that Alexander and his

son

CHAP.
VI.A. D. 1503.
A. E. 22.

son had employed these measures for the gratification of their avarice, their ambition, or their revenge, is positively asserted by many historians; but it by no means accords with the acknowledged ability, caution, and penetration of these men, that they would risk their lives upon the negligence or fidelity of a servant, or place it in the power of accident to render them the victims of their own crime. If, therefore, the death of Alexander is to be attributed to poison, it was most probably administered to him by some of those numerous enemies whom his rapacity and violence had incited to this deed of revenge; but documents recently produced, and a more dispassionate inquiry, afford sufficient reason to conclude, that the death of the pontiff was not occasioned by poison, but was the effect of a fever, which in a few days hurried him to the grave.(a)

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I I

Were

(a) Burchard informs us, that the pope was attacked by a fever on the 12th day of August, 1503; that on the sixteenth he was bled, and the disorder seemed to become tertian. On the seventeenth he took medicine; but on the eighteenth he became so ill that his life was despaired of. He then received the Viaticum, during mass; which was celebrated in his chamber, and at which five cardinals assisted.

CHAP.
VI.A. D. 1501.
A. Et. 22.Death of
Alexander
VI.proposed
stow up
and I'

implicit confidence in
no period of society has
character of darker deformity than
Alexander VI. Inordinate in his am-
bition,

In the evening extreme unction was administered to him, and in a few minutes afterwards he died. *Burchard. Diar. ap. Notices de la bibliotheque du Roi, vol. i. p. 118.* Muratori has produced many authorities to shew, that the death of Alexander was not occasioned by poison; among which, that of Beltrando Costabile, then ambassador of the duke of Ferrara at Rome, seems the most decisive. "The court of Ferrara," adds Muratori, "which was then the residence of the daughter of Alexander, may be presumed to have been well informed of the cause of his death."

That it was, however, the general opinion at the time of his death, that Alexander perished by poison, appears from numerous contemporary authorities. Thus Guido Postumo, in *Tumulum Sexti*:

- " Quis situs hic? *Sextus*. Quis pectora plangit? *Erynnis*.
 " Quis comes in tanto funere obit? *Vitium*.
 " Unde pyra? *Ex crucibus*, quibus Italia pectora torsit.
 " Quæ laniata genas præfica? *Avaracies*.
 " Quis tulit ossa? *Nefas*. Quis longo murmure dixit
 " Nate, vale? Mater *Rixa*, paterque *Odium*.
 " Qui pressere oculos? *Incendia*, *Stupra*, *Rapina*.
 " Quis moriar dixit, hoc moriente? *Dolus*
 " Sed quæ causa necis? *Virus*. Proh numina! virus
 " Humano generi vita, saltusque fuit."

Guid. Post. Eleg. f. 36.

CHAP.
VI.A. D. 1503.
A. Æt. 28.Remarks on
his conduct
and character.

on, insatiable in his avarice and his lust, inexorable in his cruelty, and boundless in his rapacity; almost every crime that can disgrace humanity is attributed to him without hesitation, by writers whose works are published under the sanction of the Roman church. He is also accused of having introduced into his territories the detestable practice of searching for state offences by means of secret informers; a system fatal to the liberty and happiness of every country that has submitted to such a degradation. As a pontiff he perverted his high office by making his spiritual power on every occasion subservient to his temporal interests; and he might have adopted as his emblem, that of the ancient Jupiter, which exhibits the lightning in the grasp of a ferocious eagle.(a) His vices as an individual,

(a) To this period, when truth became a crime, we may refer the origin of the Roman Pasquinades; of which the following lines afford one of the earliest instances.

"Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.

"Emerat ille prius; vendere jure potest.

"De vitio in vitium, de flamma transit in ignem;

"Roma sub Hispano deperit imperio.

"Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iste;

"Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit."

Machiavelli,

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VI.A. D. 1503.
A. E. 28.

dual, although not so injurious to the world, are represented as yet more disgusting; and the records of his court afford repeated instances of a depravity of morals, inexcusable in any station, but abominable in one of his high rank and sacred office. Yet with all these lamentable defects, justice requires that two particulars in his favour should be noticed. In the first place, whatever have been his crimes, there can be no doubt but they have been highly overcharged. That he was devoted to the aggrandizement of his family, and that he employed the authority of his elevated station to establish a permanent dominion in Italy in the person of his son, cannot be doubted; but when almost all the sovereigns of Europe were attempting to gratify their ambition by means equally criminal, it seems

Machiavelli, although more favourable to the family of Borgia than most other writers, accuses him of lust, simony, and cruelty;

“ ——— per aver riposo,
 “ Portato fu fra l'anime beate
 “ Lo spirito di Alessandro glorioso.
 “ Del qual seguì le sante pedate
 “ Tre sue familiari e care ançille,
 “ Lussuria, Simonia, e crudeltate.”

Decennale i. p. 68.

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VI.A. D. 1503.
A. Et. 22.

seems unjust to brand the character of Alexander with any peculiar and extraordinary share of infamy in this respect. Whilst Louis of France and Ferdinand of Spain conspired together, to seize upon and divide the kingdom of Naples, by an example of treachery that never can be sufficiently execrated, Alexander might surely think himself justified in suppressing the turbulent barons, who had for ages rent the dominions of the church with intestine wars, and in subjugating the petty sovereigns of Romagna, over whom he had an acknowledged supremacy, and who had in general acquired their dominions by means as unjustifiable as those which he adopted against them.^(a) With respect to the accusation so generally believed, of a criminal intercourse between

(a) Oliverotto da Fermo had obtained the chief authority in the city, from which he derived his name, by the treacherous murder of his uncle, and several of the principal inhabitants, whom he had invited to an entertainment. This atrocious deed was perpetrated on the same day in the preceding year, on which he afterwards fell into the snare of Cæsar Borgia. The other persons put to death by Borgia, had also supported themselves by rapine, and were the terror of all Italy. The contests of this period may in fact be regarded by posterity as a combat of wild beasts, in which the strongest and most ferocious animal destroys the rest.
v. Mach. lib. del Principe. cap. viii. p. 21, 22.

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between him and his own daughter, which has caused him to be regarded with a peculiar degree of horror and disgust, it might not be difficult to shew its improbability, and to invalidate an imputation which disgraces human nature itself.

In the second place it may justly be observed, that the vices of Alexander were accompanied, although not compensated, by many great qualities, which, in the consideration of his character ought not to be passed over in silence.(a) Nor, if this were not the fact, would it be possible to account for the peculiar good fortune which attended him to the latest period of his life, or for the singular circumstance recorded of him that, during his whole pontificate no popular tumult ever endangered his authority, or disturbed his repose.

(a) " ——— in Alexandro, ut de Annibale Livius " scribit, æquabant vitia virtutes. Inerant namque ingenium, ratio, cognitio, memoria, diligentia, eloquentia verò quædam naturalis, et ad persuadendum apta, ut nemo " rem cautius proponeret aut acrius defensitaret," &c. *Raph. Volater. Anthropol. lib. xxii. p. 683.* " Fu magnanimo, " et generoso, et prudente, se non che si lasciò vincere dall' " amore di figliuoli che haveva, et da troppo cupidità." *Monaldeschi, Comm. Istor. p. 148.*

pose.(a) Even by his severest adversaries, he is allowed to have been a man of an elevated genius, of a wonderful memory, eloquent, vigilant, and dexterous in the management of all his concerns. The proper supply of the city of Rome with all the necessities of life was an object of his unceasing attention; and during his pontificate, his dominions were exempt from that famine which devastated the rest of Italy. In his diet he was peculiarly temperate, and he accustomed himself to but little sleep. In those hours which he devoted to amusement, he seemed wholly to forget the affairs of state; but he never suffered those amusements to diminish the vigour of his faculties, which remained unimpaired to the last. Though not much devoted to the study of literature, Alexander was munificent towards its professors; to whom he not only granted liberal salaries, but, with a punctuality very uncommon among the princes of that period, he took care that those salaries were duly paid.(b) That he at some times attended

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(a) *Raph. Volater. Anthropol. lib. xxii. p. 682.*

(b) The cardinal Giovanni Borgia, nephew of the pontiff, was also an encourager of literature, and condescended

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tended the representations of the comedies of Plautus has been placed in the black catalogue of his defects ;(a) but if his mind had been more humanized by the cultivation of polite letters, he might, instead of being degraded almost below humanity, have stood high in the scale of positive excellence. To the encouragement of the arts he paid a more particular attention. The palace of the Vatican was enlarged by him, and many of the apartments were ornamented with the works of the most eminent painters of the time ; among whom may be particularized Torrigiano, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Bernardino Pinturicchio. As an architect, his chief favourites were Giuliano and Antonio da San-Gallo ; nor does his choice in this respect detract from his judgment. By their assistance the mole of Hadrian, now called the castle of S. Angelo, was

to receive instructions from Mariano Probo, of Sulmona, who distinguished himself as a Latin poet, and died at Rome in the year 1499. His *Parthenias*, or *Life of the Virgin*, in six books, was printed at Naples in 1524. The preface to this rare volume by Nic. Scævola, contains some curious particulars of the state of learning at Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI.

(a) " Quapropter Comœdias Plautinas ceteraque ludicra, libenter spectavit." *Raph. Volater. lib. xxii. p. 685.*

was fortified in the manner in which it yet remains. In one circumstance his encouragement of the arts is connected with a singular instance of profaneness, which it is surprising has not hitherto been enumerated among his many offences. In a picture painted for him by Pinturicchio, the beautiful Julia Farnese is represented in the sacred character of the Virgin, whilst Alexander himself appears in the same picture, as supreme pontiff, paying to her the tribute of his adoration.

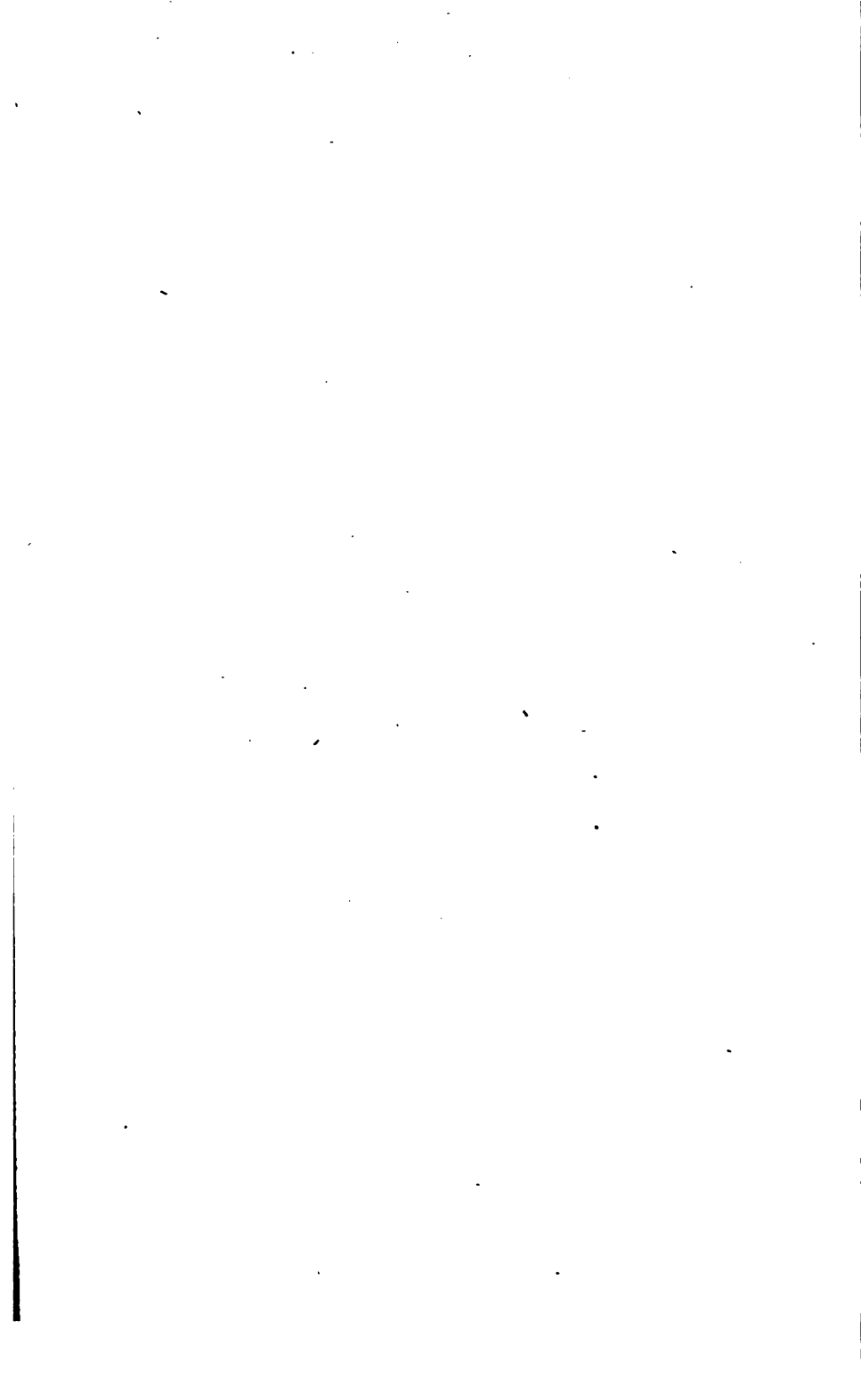
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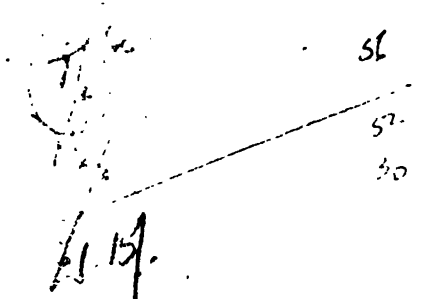
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